

Gal 4 C d

Title to Vol. 1.



Judea (represented by a Woman) in Captivity looks up to Heaven, whose vengeance by an Angel holding a flaming Sword, threatens to destroy her. The other Angel, a Minister of Peace, proffers to her an Olive-branch, signifying, that her repentance will be accepted. In the fore-part, are the Jews which were the cause of her Calamity; the Priests Massacred; the Ark and the Books of the Law profanated; and at a distance, Jerusalem and the Temple reduced to ashes.

The OLD and NEW
TESTAMENT
Connected in the
HISTORY
OF THE

Jews and Neighbouring Nations,
FROM THE
Declension of the Kingdoms of *Israel* and
Judah to the Time of CHRIST.

By *HUMPHRET PRIDEAUX*, D.D.
DEAN of *NORWICH*.

PART I. VOL. I.

The NINTH EDITION.

LONDON:

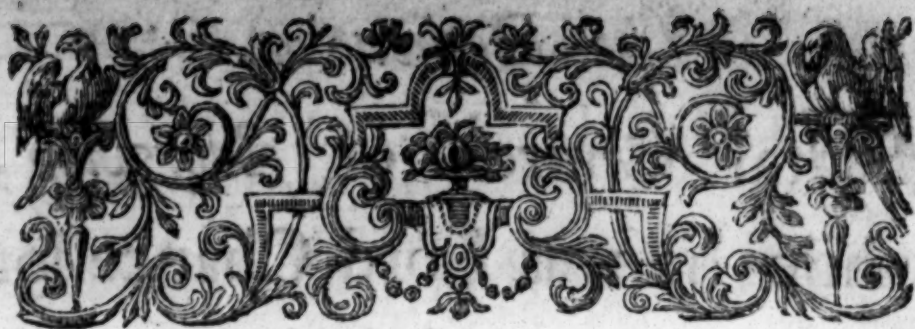
Printed for R. KNAPLOCK in *St. Paul's Church-Yard*,
and J. TONSON in the *Strand*.

MDCCXXV.



MVSEVM

BRITANNICVM



To the Right Honourable

DANIEL

EARL of Nottingham,

*President of His MAJESTY's most
Honourable Privy-Council.*

My LORD,



T being by your Re-
commendation to
your Noble Father,
that I was by him
made Prebendary of the Ca-
thedral

The Dedication.

thedral Church of *Norwich*, while he was Lord Chancellor of *England*; and it being also by your Lordship's like favourable Recommendation of me to Her late Majesty Queen **A N N E**, that I was promoted to be Dean of the same Church; I humbly offer unto your Lordship this Product of my Studies, in a grateful Acknowledgment of the Favours I have received from You. And if the Publick receive any Benefit from it (as I hope some may) nothing is more

The Dedication.

more just and reasonable, than that they should receive it thro' your Lordship's Hands, who in having been so much a Patron to the Author, have acquired thereby the best Title to all the fruits of my Labours. What I now offer unto your Lordship is only the first Part of what is intended. If God gives Life the second shall follow, and beg its passage into the world under the same Patronage. The only additional Favour I am now capable of receiving, is your Lordship's kind Accept-

The Dedication.

ance of this Expression of my
Gratitude, which I humbly
pray from your Hands; and
I am,

My LORD,

Your most Obedient, and

most Obliged Humble Servant,

Humphrey Prideaux.



THE PREFACE.



THE calamitous distemper of the Stone, and the unfortunate management I fell under after being cut for it, having driven me out of the Pulpit in wholly disabling me for that duty of my Profession, that I might not be altogether useless, I undertook this work, hoping that the clearing of the Sacred History by the Prophane, the connecting of the *Old Testament* with the *New* by an account of the times intervening, and the explaining of the Prophecies that were fulfilled in them, might be of great use to many. What is now published is only the first part of my Design. If God gives life the other will soon after follow: but if it should please him, who is the disposer of all things, that it happen otherwise, yet this History being brought down to the times, when the Canon of the *Hebrew* Scriptures was finished, it may of it self be reckoned a Com-

pleat Work. For it may serve as an Epilogue to the *Old Testament*, in the same manner, as what after is to follow, will be a Prologue to the *New*.

Chronology and Geography being necessary helps to History, and good Chronological Tables being most useful for the one, as good Maps are for the other ; I have taken full care of the former, not only by adding such Tables in the conclusion of the work, as may answer this end, but also by digesting the whole into the form of Annals under the years *Before Christ*, and the years of the Kings that then reigned over *Judea*, both which are added in the Margin at the beginning of every year, in which the actions hapned that are related. And as to the latter, since Dr. *Wells*, *Cellarius*, and *Reland* have sufficiently provided for it, both by good Maps of the Countries this History relates to, and also by accurate Descriptions of them, I need do no more than refer the Reader to what they have already done in this matter. What Dr. *Wells* hath done herein being written in *English* will best serve the *English* Reader, but they that are also skill'd in the *Latin* Tongue may moreover consult the other two.

In the Annals I have made use of no other *Æra*, but that of the years *Before Christ*, reckoning it backward from the vulgar *Æra* of *Christ's* Incarnation, and not from the true time of it. For learned Men are not all agreed in the fixing of the true time of *Christ's* Incarnation, some placing it two years, and some four years before the vulgar *Æra*. But where the
vulgar

vulgar *Æra* begins, all know, that use it; and therefore the reckoning of the years *Before Christ* backward from thence makes it a fix'd and certain *Æra*. The difference that is between the true year of our Saviour's Incarnation, and that of the vulgar *Æra* of it, proceeded from hence, that it was not till the 527th year of that *Æra*, that it was first brought into use. (a) *Dionysius Exiguus*, a *Scythian* by birth, and then a *Roman* Abbot, was the first Author of it; and *Beda* our Countryman taking it from him used it in all his writings, and the recommendation, which he gave it thereby, hath made it of common use among Christians ever since, especially in these Western Parts. Had all Christians calculated their time by it from the beginning of the Church of *Christ* (as it could be wished they had) there could then have been no mistake in it. But it being 527 years after *Christ*'s Incarnation before this *Æra* of it was ever used, no wonder, that after so great a distance of time a mistake was made in the fixing of the first year of it.

The *Æra* from the Creation of the World is of very common use in Chronology; but this I have rejected, because of the uncertainty of it, most Chronologers following different opinions herein, some reckoning the time of the Creation sooner, and some later, and scarce any two agreeing in the same year for it.

(a) See Scaliger, Calvisius, and other Chronologers, in those parts of their works, where they write of the vulgar *Æra* of *Christ*. And see also Du Pin's *History of Ecclesiastical writers*, Cent. 6. p. 42. and Dr. Cave's *Historia Literaria*, p. 405.

The *Julian* Period is indeed a certain measure of time, but its certainty depends upon a reckoning backward, in the same manner as that of the *Æra Before Christ*. For it being a Period of 7980 *Julian* years made out of the three Cycles of the Sun, Moon and Indiction multiplied into each other, and the first year of it being that in which all these three Cycles begin together, this first year can be no otherwise fixed, than by computing backward from the present numbers of these Cycles through all the different combinations of them, till we come to that year, in which the first year of every one of them meet together; which carries up the reckoning several hundred years before the Creation, and fixeth the beginning of the period in an imaginary point of time before time was. And therefore altho' from that beginning is computes downward, yet the whole of its certainty is by a backward reckoning from the present years of those Cycles. For according as they are, all must be reckoned upward even to the beginning of the Period. So that altho' in appearance it reckons downward, yet in reality it is only a Backward Computation to tell us how many years since any thing was done from the present year. For in the numbers of the three Cycles of the present year it hath a real and fix'd foundation for an upward reckoning, and so in any other year, in which the said numbers are known; whereas it hath none at all for a downward reckoning, but what is in the imagination only. And therefore this being the true and real use of the *Julian* Period, the *Æra Before Christ* for
the

P R E F A C E.

v

the times I treat of serves all the purposes of Chronology altogether as well, if not much better. For adding the years *Before Christ* to those since *Christ* according to the vulgar *Æra*, it immediately tells us how many years since any action before the time of *Christ* was done, and the *Julian* Period can do no more; and indeed it cannot do thus much but by reduction, whereas it is done the other way directly, immediately, and at first sight. However in the Tables I have put the *Julian* Period, and have reduced to it not only the years *Before Christ*, but also the years of the Princes reigning in *Judæa*, and the neighbouring Countries, and all things else, that are treated of in this History, and hereby the Synchronisms, or coincident times and transactions of other Nations, may easily be known.

The year I compute by in the Annals is the *Julian* year, which begins from the first of *January*; and to this I reduce all the actions I treat of, tho' they were originally reckoned by other forms. The *(b)* *Greeks* before the time of *Meto* begun their year from the winter Solstice, and after from that of the Summer. The *Egyptians*, *Chaldeans*, and ancient *Persians* reckon'd the first of the month *Thoth* to be always the first day of their year, which consisting of 365 days without a *Leap* year, *(c)* it begun every fourth year one day sooner than it did before, and so in the space of

(b) Vide Scaligerum, Petavium aliosque Chronologos in eis locis ubi de Anno Græcorum agunt. *(c)* So it was in the time of the last Darius, but afterwards the Persians compensated for the loss of the Leap year by adding an Intercalary month of 30 days every 120th year.

1460 years its beginning was carried backward through the whole Solar year. The *Syrians* and the *Phœnicians* begun their year from the Autumnal Equinox, and so did also the *Hebrews* till their coming up out of the Land of *Egypt*. But that hapning in the month of *Nisan*, in commemoration of this deliverance they afterwards begun their year from (*d*) the beginning of that month, which usually hapned about the time of the Vernal Equinox. And this form they ever after made use of in the calculating of the times of their Fasts, and Festivals, and all other Ecclesiastical times and concerns. But in all Civil matters, as Contracts, Obligations, and such other Affairs which were of a secular nature, they still made use of the Old Form, and begun their year as formerly from the first of *Tisri*, which hapned about the time of the Autumnal Equinox. And from hence they began (*e*) all their Jubilees, and Sabbatical years, and all other their computations of civil Matters, as they still do the years of the Creation of the world, and the years of their *Æra* of Contracts; which are the only Epocha's they now compute past times by. Anciently (*f*) the form of the year, which they made use of, was wholly in-artificial. For it was not settled by any Astronomical Rules or Calculations, but was made up of Lunar months set out by the Phasis or Appearance of the Moon. When

(*d*) Exod. xii. 2. (*e*) Levit. xxv. 9, 10. (*f*) Talmud in Tract. Rosh Hashtanah. Maimonides in Keddush Hachodesh. Seiden de Anno Civili veterum Judæorum.

they saw the New Moon, then they began their months, which sometimes consisted of 29 days and sometimes of 30, according as the New Moon did sooner or later appear. The reason of this was because the Synodical course of the Moon (that is from New Moon to New Moon) being 29 days and an half, the half day, which a month of 29 days fell short of it, was made up by adding it to the next month, which made it consist of 30 days; so that their months consisted of 29 days and 30 days alternatively. None of them had fewer than 29 days, and therefore they never looked for the New Moon before the night following the 29th day, and if they then saw it, the next day was the first day of the following month. Neither had any of their months more than 30 days, and therefore they never looked for the New Moon after the night following the thirtieth day; but then, if they saw it not, they concluded, that the appearance was obstructed by the Clouds, and made the next day the first of the following month, without expecting any longer; and of twelve of these months their common year consisted. But twelve Lunar months falling eleven days short of a Solar year, every one of those common years began eleven days sooner than the former; which in thirty three years time would carry back the beginning of the year through all the four Seasons to the same point again, and get a whole year from the Solar reckoning (as is now done in *Turkey*, where this sort of year is in use;) for the remedying of which, their usage was sometimes in the third year, and sometimes in the

se-

second, to cast in another month, and make their year then consist of thirteen months; whereby they constantly reduced their Lunar year, as far as such an Intercalation could effect it, to that of the Sun, and never suffered the one, for any more than a month, at any time to vary from the other. And this they were forced to do for the sake of their Festivals. For their Feast of the Passover (the first day of which (*g*) was always fix'd to the middle of their month *Nisan*) being to be celebrated by their eating of the Paschal Lamb, and the offering up of the wave sheaf, as the first fruits of their Barley Harvest; and their feast of *Pentecost*, which was (*h*) kept the fiftieth day after the sixteenth of *Nisan* (which was the day, in which the wave sheaf was offered) being to be celebrated by the offering of the two wave loaves, as the first-fruits of their (*i*) Wheat Harvest; and their feast of Tabernacles, which was always begun (*k*) on the fifteenth of *Tisri*, being fix'd to the time (*l*) of their ingathering of all the fruits of the Earth: The Passover cou'd not be observed, till the Lambs were grown fit to be eaten, and the Barley fit to be reaped; nor the *Pentecost*, till the Wheat was ripe; nor the feast of *Tabernacles* till the ingatherings of the Vineyard and Olive-yard were over. And therefore these Festivals being fixed to

(*g*) Exod. xii. 3—20. Levit. xxiii. 4—8. Numb. xxviii. 16, 17.
 (*h*) Levit. xxiii. 15, 16, 17. Deut. xvi. 9. (*i*) Here it is to be observed, that in Judæa the Barley Harvest was before the Wheat Harvest, and so it was in Egypt. For the Barley was in the Ear, when the Wheat and Rye were not grown up. Exod. ix. 31, 32. (*k*) Levit. xxiii. 34, & 39. (*l*) Levit. xxiii. 39.

these set seasons of the year, the making of the Intercalation above-mentioned was necessary for the keeping them within a month sooner or later always to them. Their rule for the doing of this was; (*m*) whenever according to the course of the common year the fifteenth day of *Nisan* (which was the first day of unleavened bread, and the first day of their Paschal Solemnity) hapned to fall before the day of their vernal Equinox, then they intercalated a month, and the Paschal Solemnity was thereby carried on a month farther into the year, and all the other Festivals with it. For according as the Paschal Festival was fixed, so were all the rest; that is, the *Pentecost* fifty days after the second day of the Paschal Feast (*i. e.* the 16th of *Nisan*) on which the wave sheaf was offered, and the Feast of Tabernacles six months after the beginning of the said Paschal Feast. For as the first day of the Paschal Feast was the fifteenth of *Nisan* (the fourteenth, on the evening of which the solemnity began in the slaying of the Paschal Lambs, being but the Eve of the Passover) so the first day of the feast of Tabernacles was on the fifteenth of *Tisri*, just six months after. To make this the more clear let it be observed, that the *Hebrew* months were as followeth, 1. *Nisan*, 2. *Iyar*, 3. *Sivan*, 4. *Tamuz*, 5. *Ab*, 6. *Elul*, 7. *Tisri*, 8. *Marchesvan*, 9. *Cisleu*, 10. *Tebeth*, 11. *Shebat*, 12. *Adar*. And these twelve made their common year. But in their intercalated years there was another

(*m*) Talmud in Rosh Hasshanah. Maimonides in Kiddush Hachodesh. Selden de Anno Civili veterum Judæorum.

month added after *Adar*, which they called *Ve-adar* or the second *Adar*; and then their year consisted of thirteen months. Supposing therefore their vernal Equinox should have been on the tenth of *March*, (whereabout now it is) and that the fifteenth of *Nisan*, the first day of their Passover, should in the common course of their year happen to fall on the ninth of *March*, the day before the Equinox; then on their foreseeing of this they intercalated a month, and after their *Adar* added their *Veadar*, which sometimes consisted of twenty nine days and sometimes of thirty, according as it hapned; at present we will suppose it to be of thirty days, and then the first of *Nisan*, which is to begin this year, instead of being on the 23d of *February* (as otherwise it would) must be carried on thirty days forward to the twenty fifth of *March*, and their Passover to the eighth of *April* following. But the next year after beginning eleven days sooner, for the reason I have mentioned, the first of *Nisan* must then have happened on the 14th of *March*, and the first day of the Passover on the 28th of the same month. And the next year after that the first of *Nisan* must for the same reason have hapned on the third of *March*, and the first day of the Passover on the seventeenth of *March*. And the next year after that, according to this Calculation, the first of *Nisan* would have hapned on the twentieth of *February*, and the first day of the Passover on the sixth of *March* following. But this being before the Equinox, another Intercalation of the month *Veadar* must have been made. And so after the same manner it went through all

all other years; whereby it came to pass, that the first of *Nisan*, which was the beginning of their year, always was within fifteen days before or fifteen days after the vernal Equinox, that is within the compass of thirty days in the whole sooner or later; and according as that was fixed, so were fixed also the beginnings of all their other months, and all the Fasts and Feasts observed in them. But this inartificial way of forming their Months and Years was in use among them only while they lived in their own land, and there might easily receive notice of what was ordained in this matter by those who had the care and ordering of it. For when they became dispersed through all Nations, they were forced to make use of Cycles and Astronomical Calculations for the fixing of their new Moons, and Intercalations, and the times of their Feasts, Fasts, and other Observances; that so they might be every where uniform herein. The first Cycle they made use of for this purpose (*n*) was that of eighty four years. By this they fixed their Paschal Feast, and by that their whole year besides. And the use hereof the primitive Christians borrowed from them, and for some of the first Centuries fixed their *Easter* in every year according to it. But this after some time being found to be faulty, *Meto's* Cycle of nineteen years (*o*) was after the Council of *Nice* brought into use by them for this purpose instead of the other, and the *Jews*

(*n*) Vide Bucherium de antiquo Paschali Judæorum Cyclo. (*o*) Epistola Ambrosii 83. ad Episcopos per Æmiliam constitutos. It was by the Council of Nice referred to the Church of Alexandria every year to fix the time of Easter, and they did it by *Meto's* Cycle of 19 years.

following their example herein almost about the same time came into the same usage also, and upon this Cycle is founded the present form of their year. The first who began to work it into this shape (p) was *Rabbi Samuel*, Rector of the *Jewish* school at *Sora* in *Mesopotamia*; *Rabbi Aida*, who was a great *Astronomer*, pursued his scheme; and after him *Rabbi Hillel* about the year of our Lord 360 brought it to that perfection, in which now it is, and being *Nasi* or Prince of their *Sanhedrim*, he gave it the Authority of his Sanction, and by vertue thereof it hath ever since been observed by them, and they say always is to be observed to the coming of the *Messiah*. According to this form (q) there are within the compals of the said nineteen years Cycle seven intercalated years consisting of thirteen months, and twelve common years consisting of twelve months. Their intercalated years are the third, the sixth, the eighth, the eleventh, the fourteenth, the seventeenth, and the nineteenth of that Cycle; and when one round of this Cycle is over, they begin another, and so constantly according to it fix their new Moons (at which all their months begin) and all their fasts and feasts in every year. And this form of their year, it must be acknowledged, is very exactly and astronomically contrived, and may truly be reckoned the greatest piece of Art and Ingenuity, that is to be found among that people.

(p) *Juchasin*; *Shaltheleth Haccabbala*; & *Zemach David*. & ex iisdem *Morinus* in *Exercitat. Prima* in *Pentateuchum Samaritanum*, cap. 3.

(q) *Talmud* in *Roshi Haschanah*. *Maimonides* in *Kiddush Hachodesh*, & *Seldenus* *De Anno Civili veterum Judæorum*.

They who would thoroughly understand it may read *Maimonides's* Tract *Kiddush Hachodesh*, which hath been published in a very good *Latin* Translation by *Lewis de Veil* under the Title *De Consecratione Calendarum*, where he will find it very exactly and perspicuously described.

These having been the forms of the *Jewish* year, that is the inartificial Form used by the Ancients in the land of *Canaan*, and the Artificial and Astronomical form now in use among the Moderns throughout all their dispersions; according to neither of them can the days of the *Jewish* months be fixed to any certain days of the months in the *Julian* year. For in both of them the months being Lunar, and the Intercalations made of one whole Lunar month at once, the days of those months to the full extent of one full Lunar month fell sometimes sooner, and sometimes later in the Solar form. Since the *Jewish* Kalendar hath been fixed by *Rabbi Hillel* upon the certain foundations of Astronomy, Tables may indeed be made, which may point out to what day in that Kalendar every day in the *Julian* year shall answer; but this cannot be done for the time before, because while they went inartificially to work in this matter by the phasis and appearance of the Moon, both for the beginning of their months and years, and the making of their intercalations, they did not always do it exactly; but often varied from the Astronomical truth herein. And this latter having been their way through all the times, of which this History treats, we cannot, when we find the day of any

Jewish month mentioned either in the Scriptures, or in *Josephus*, reduce it exactly to its time in the *Julian* year, or there fix it any nearer, than within the compass of a month sooner or later. *Kepler* indeed holds, that the *Jewish* year was a Solar year consisting of twelve months of thirty days each, and an addition of five days after the last of them; and our Countrymen Arch-bishop *Usher*, and Mr. *Lydiat*, two of the most eminent Chronologers that any age hath produced, go into the same opinion. Such a year I acknowledge was in use among the *Chaldeans*, from whom *Abraham* was descended; and also among the *Egyptians*, with whom the *Israelites* long lived. And I doubt not, but that before their coming out of the land of *Egypt* they also reckoned their time by the same form. For the time of the Flood is manifestly computed by it (r) in the Book of *Genesis*, an hundred and fifty days being there made equal to five months, which proves those months to have been thirty day months. But that the *Israelites* made use of this sort of year after their coming out of *Egypt*, can never be made consisting with the *Mosaical* Law. According to that their year must be made up of months purely Lunar, and could no otherwise, than by an Intercalary month, be reduced to the Solar form. And there being a necessity of making this Intercalation for the keeping of their Festivals to their proper Seasons, by this means it comes to pass, that the be-

(r) Chap. vii. 11. compared with Chap. viii. 3, 4.

ginnings of their months cannot be fixed to any certain day in the *Julian* Kalendar, but they fell always within the compass of 30 days sooner or later therein. That the thing may appear the clearer to the Reader, I shall express it in this following Scheme, wherein the first Column gives the names of the *Jewish* months, and the second of the *Julian* months, within the compass of which the said *Jewish* Months set over - against them have always sooner or later their beginning and ending; and this is the nearest view, that can be given of the Correspondency of the one with the other.

1 <i>Nisan</i>	{ <i>March</i> <i>April.</i>	7 <i>Tisri</i> - - -	{ <i>September</i> <i>October.</i>
2 <i>Iyar</i>	{ <i>April</i> <i>May.</i>	8 <i>Marchesvan</i>	{ <i>October</i> <i>November.</i>
3 <i>Sivan</i>	{ <i>May</i> <i>June.</i>	9 <i>Cisleu</i> - -	{ <i>November</i> <i>December.</i>
4 <i>Tamuz</i>	{ <i>June</i> <i>July.</i>	10 <i>Tebeth</i> -	{ <i>December</i> <i>January.</i>
5 <i>Ab</i> ---	{ <i>July</i> <i>August.</i>	11 <i>Shebat</i> -	{ <i>January</i> <i>February.</i>
6 <i>Elul</i> -	{ <i>August</i> <i>September.</i>	12 <i>Adar</i> - -	{ <i>February</i> <i>March.</i>

The 13th month called *Veadar*, or the second *Adar*, answered most an end to our *March*, it being then only intercalated, or cast in, when the beginning of *Nisan* would otherwise be carried back into the End of *February*.

I have in the series of this History taken no notice either of the Jubilees, or the Sabbatical years of the *Jews*, both because of the Usefulness, and also of the Uncertainty of them. They are useless, because they help not to the explaining of any thing either in the holy Scriptures, or the histories of the times which I treat of; and they are uncertain, because it doth not appear, when or how they were observed. It is acknowledged by most learned men, that the Jubilees were no more regarded after the *Babylonish* Captivity. And it is manifest from Scripture, that the Sabbatical years were wholly neglected for many Ages before it. For the desolation, which happened to the Country of *Judaea* under that Captivity, is said in the second Book of *Chronicles* (Chap. xxxvi. 21.) to have been brought upon it for this very reason, that the land might enjoy its Sabbaths, that is those Sabbatical years of rest, which the *Jews* in neglecting the law of God concerning this matter had deprived it of. And therefore if we reckon to this desolation only the fifty two years, that were from the destruction of the City and Temple of *Jerusalem* to the end of the *Babylonish* Captivity (in which the Land was wholly desolated) this will prove the observing of those Sabbatical years to have been neglected for 364 years before that Captivity. But if we add hereto the other eighteen years of that Captivity, in which it was only in part desolated, and take in the whole seventy years of it into this reckoning, it will then carry up the time of this neglect much

much higher, even to 490 years before that Captivity. And as to the Jubilees there is no mention made of them any where through the whole Scriptures, saving only in that Law, where they are enjoined; neither is there of their Sabbatical years, saving only in the same Law, and the place in *Chronicles* above-mentioned. There are indeed two other places of Scripture, which some understand concerning them (that is 2 *Kings* xix. 29. and *Jeremiah* xxxiv. 8, 9, 10.) But both these passages do better admit of other interpretations. For what is said in the former of these seems rather to refer to the desolations of the war, and the interruption of agriculture through the violences and calamity of it, than to a Sabbatical year, and so *Grotius* and other learned men understand it. And what is said in the other by *Jeremiah* about the release of Servants, doth not infer a Sabbatical year, nor a Jubilee neither. For every *Hebrew* Servant (s) was to be released in the seventh year of his servitude, tho' it were neither a Jubilee, nor a Sabbatical year, and therefore this instance infers neither of them. And those who undertake to interpret the law which enjoins these Jubilees, and Sabbatical years, very much differ concerning them, both as to the time and manner of their observance. Some will have the reckoning both of the Sabbatical years and the Jubilees to commence from the first entering of the *Israelites* into the land of *Canaan*, and therefore place the first Sabbatical year in the seventh

(s) Exodus xxi. 2.

year after that entrance, and the first Jubilee also according hereto. But others say, that the land was seven years in conquering and dividing; and that the eighth year was the first, in which the *Israelites* began to sow, and reap in it; and that therefore the fourteenth year was the first Sabbatical year; and according to this reckoning they put the first Sabbatical year, and the first Jubilee, seven years later than the former, and so the numbers of all the rest that follow. And then as to the time of the Jubilee, there is this dispute, whether it be the same with the seventh Sabbatical year, or the next year after. The reason of this dispute is, because if it be on the year after the seventh Sabbatical year, then there will be two Sabbatical years together; (for the year of Jubilee was also (*t*) a Sabbatical year,) and in this case there would be the loss of two crops together; and then it will be asked, how could the people be supported? And they who, notwithstanding this objection, determine for the next year after the seventh Sabbatical year to have been the year of Jubilee, tho' (*u*) they have the Scripture on their side in this particular, yet are not agreed where to begin the next week of years (or *Shemittah* as the *Jews* call it) after that seventh Sabbatical year, that is whether the year of Jubilee, or the next year after it, was to be the first year of that week or *Shemittah*. If the Jubilee year were the first year of that week, then there would have been but five years for them to sow and reap in be-

(*t*) Levit. xxv. 11.(*u*) Levit. xxv. 10.

tween the Jubilee (which was also a Sabbatical year) and the next Sabbatical year after; whereas (w) the Scripture saith they were to have six. And if the first year of the next *Shemittah* were the next year after the Jubilee, then the *Shemittah's* would not always succeed in an exact Series immediately one after the other, but after the seventh *Shemittah* the year of Jubilee would intervene between that and the next, which disagreeeth with the opinion of many. However it is indeed the truth of the matter, and I know no objection against it, but that it exposeth the error of those, who thinking that the Sabbatical years did always happen each exactly on the seventh year after the former, have in that order and series placed them in their Chronological Computations, without considering, that after every 49th year a Jubilee year did intervene between the *Shemittah*, that then ended, and the beginning of the next that followed. But they act most out of the way in this matter, who would confine *Daniel's* Prophecy of the seventy weeks to so many *Shemittah's*, as if these seventy weeks fell in exactly with seventy *Shemittah's*, that is, that the first week began with the first year of a *Shemittah* or Sabbatical week, and ended with a Sabbatical year, which was the last of a *Shemittah*, and so all the rest down to the last of the whole number; and to this end some have perplexed themselves in vain to find out Sabbatical years to suit their Hypothesis's, and fix them to times, to which

(w) Levit. xxv. 3.

they did never belong; whereas the Prophecy means no more than by the seventy weeks to express seventy times seven years, that is 490 in the whole, without any relation had either to *Shemittah's* or Sabbatical years. And were it otherwise, the seventy weeks of *Daniel*, besides the seventy *Shemittah's*, must have contained nine years more for the nine Jubilees, which must have hapned within the Compass of the said seventy *Shemittah's*, and thereby make the whole number of those weeks to be 499 years, which no one that I know of hath ever yet said. And therefore since there is nothing certain to be known concerning these Sabbatical years and Jubilees of the *Jews*, as to their ancient observance of them, and consequently there can be no use made of them for the explication either of Scripture or History, I have not troubled the Reader with them in the body of this History, and I wish I have not troubled him too far in saying so much of them here in the Preface.

In the series of this History having often endeavoured to reduce the sums of Money mentioned therein to the value they would bear with us in this present Age, whether Gold or Silver; I think it requisite to lay down the rules whereby I make this reduction. It is to be observed therefore in order hereto, that among the Ancients the way of reckoning their Money was by Talents. So the *Hebrews*, so the *Babylonians*, so the *Greeks*, and so the *Romans* did reckon; and of these Talents they had subdivisions, which were usually into Mina's and Drachms;

Drachms; *i. e.* of their Talents into Mina's, and of their Mina's into Drachms. The *Hebrews* had besides these their Shekels, and half Shekels, or Beka's, and the *Romans* their Denarii, which last were very near of the same value with the Drachms of the *Greeks*. What was the value of an *Hebrew* Talent appears from *Exodus xxxviii. 25, 26*; for there 603550 Persons being taxed at an half Shekel an head, they must have paid in the whole 301775 Shekels, and that sum is there said to amount to an hundred Talents and 1775 Shekels over; if therefore you deduct the 1775 Shekels from the number 301775, and divide the remaining sum, *i. e.* 300000 by an hundred, this will prove each of those Talents to contain three thousand Shekels. Each of these Shekels weighed about three Shillings of our Money, and sixty of them (x) *Ezekiel* tells us, made a Mina; and therefore fifty of those Mina's made a Talent. And as to their Drachms, it appears by the Gospel of *St. Matthew* that it was the fourth part of a Shekel, that is nine Pence of our Money. For there (chap. xvii. v. 24.) the Tribute Money annually paid to the Temple by every Jew (which was (y) half a Shekel) is called Δίδραχμον (*i. e.* the two Drachm piece) and therefore if an half Shekel contained two Drachms, a Drachm must have been the quarter part of a Shekel, and every Shekel must have contained four of them, and so *Josephus* tells us it did. For he (z) saith that a Shekel

(x) Chap. xlv. 12. (y) Talmud in Shekalim. (z) Antiq. lib. 3. c. 9.

contained four *Attic* Drachms, which is not exactly to be understood according to the weight, but according to the valuation in the currency of common payments. For according to the weight the heaviest *Attic* Drachms did not exceed eight pence farthing half farthing of our Money, and an *Hebrew* Drachm, as I have said, was nine pence; but what the *Attic* Drachm fell short of the *Hebrew* in weight might be made up in the fineness, and its ready currency in all Countries (which last the *Hebrew* Drachm could not have) and so might be made equivalent in common estimation among the *Jews*. Allowing therefore a Drachm as well *Attic* as *Jewish* as valued in *Judæa* to be equivalent to nine pence of our Money, a Beka or half Shekel will be one Shilling and Sixpence, a Shekel three Shillings, a Mina nine pound, and a Talent four hundred and fifty pound. So was it in the time of *Moses* and *Ezekiel*, and so was it the same in the time of *Josephus* among that People, for (a) he tells us, that an *Hebrew* Mina contained two Litra's and an half, which comes exactly to nine pound of our Money. For a Litra being the same with a *Roman* Libra contained twelve ounces Troy weight, that is ninety six Drachms, and therefore two Litra's and an half must contain 240 Drachms, which being estimated at nine pence a Drachm according to the *Jewish* valuation, comes exactly to sixty Shekels, or nine pound of our Money. And this account agreeth exactly with that of *Alexandria*. For

(a) Josephus Antiq. lib. 14. ch. 12.

(b) the

(b) the *Alexandrian* Talent contained 12000 *Attic* Drachms, and 12000 *Attic* Drachms according to the *Jewish* valuation being 12000 of our nine-pences, they amount to 450 pound of Sterling Money, which is the same value with the *Mosaic* Talent. But here it is to be observed, that though the *Alexandrian* Talent amounted to 12000 *Attic* Drachms, yet they themselves reckoned it but at 6000 Drachms, because every *Alexandrian* Drachm contained (c) two *Attic* Drachms; and therefore the Septuagint version being made by the *Alexandrian Jews*, they there render the *Hebrew* word Shekel by the *Greek* Δίδραχμον, which signifieth two Drachms, because two *Alexandrian* Drachms made a Shekel, two of them amounting to as much as four *Attic* Drachms. And therefore computing the *Alexandrian* Money according to the same method, in which we have computed the *Jewish*, it will be as followeth. One Drachm of *Alexandria* will be of our Money eighteen pence; one Didrachm or Shekel consisting of two Drachms of *Alexandria*, or four of *Attica*, will be three Shillings; one Mina consisting of sixty Didrachms or Shekels will be nine pound; and one Talent consisting of fifty Mina's will be four hundred and fifty pound, which is the Talent (d) of *Moses*, and so also is it the Talent of (e) *Josephus*. For he tells us, that an *Hebrew* Talent contain-

(b) Festus Pompeius, Dionysius Halicarnassensis etiam dicit Talentum Alexandrinum continere 125 Libras Romanas; Libræ autem Romanæ 125 continent Drachmas Atticas 12000. (c) Varro æstimat Drachmas Alexandrinas Duplo superasse Atticasve Tyriasve. (d) Exod. xxxviii. 25, 26. (e) Antiq. lib. 3 c. 7.

ed an hundred *Greek* (i. e. *Attic*) Mina's. For those fifty Mina's, which here make an *Alexandrian* Talent, would be an hundred *Attic* Mina's in the like method of valuation, the *Alexandrian* Talent containing double as much as the *Attic* Talent, both in the whole and also in all its parts, in whatsoever method both shall be equally distributed. Among the *Greeks* the established rule was, (f) that one hundred Drachms made a Mina, and sixty Mina's a Talent. But in some different States their Drachms being different, accordingly their Mina's and Talents were within the same proportion different also. But the Money of *Attica* was the standard, by which all the rest were valued, according as they more or less differed from it. And therefore it being of most note, wherever any *Greek* Historian speaks of Talents, Mina's, or Drachms, if they be simply mentioned, it is always to be understood of Talents, Mina's, or Drachms, of *Attica*, and never of the Talents, Mina's, or Drachms of any other place, unless it be expressed. Mr. *Brerewood* going by the Goldsmiths weights (g) reckons an *Attic* Drachm to be the same with a Dram now in use in their Shops, that is the eighth part of an Ounce, and therefore lays it at the value of seven pence half-penny of our Money, or the eighth part of a Crown, which is or ought to be an ounce weight. But Dr. *Bernard* going more accurately to work (h) lays the middle sort of *Attic* Drachms at eight

(f) Julii pollucis Onomasticon lib. 10. cap. 6. (g) In Libro de ponderibus & Pretiis veterum Nummorum. (h) In Libro de mensuris & ponderibus antiquis.

pence farthing of our Money, and the Mina's and Talents accordingly, in the proportions above mentioned. The *Babylonish* Talent according to (i) *Pollux* contained seven thousand of those Drachms. The *Roman* Talent (k) contained seventy two *Italic* Mina's, which were the same with the *Roman* Libra's; and ninety six *Roman* Denarius's, each being of the value of seven pence half-penny of our Money, made a *Roman* Libra. But all the valuations, I have hitherto mentioned, must be understood only of Silver Money, and not of Gold; for that was much higher. The proportion of Gold to Silver was among the Ancients most commonly as ten to one; sometimes it was raised to be as eleven to one, and sometimes as twelve, and sometimes as thirteen to one. In the time of King *Edward* the First, it was here in *England* at the value of ten to one; but it is now gotten at sixteen to one, and so I value it in all the reductions, which I make in this History of ancient sums to the present value. But to make the whole of this matter the easier to the Reader, I will lay all of it before him for his clear view in this following Table of valuations.

Hebrew Money.

	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
An <i>Hebrew</i> Drachm	000	00	09
Two Drachms made a Beka, or half Shekel, which was the Tribute Money paid by eve- ry Jew to the Temple.	000	01	06

(i) Lib. 10. cap. 6. p. 437.

(k) Festus Pompeius.

	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
Two Beka's made a Shekel	000	03	00
Sixty Shekels made a Mina	009	00	00
Fifty Mina's made a Talent	450	00	00
A Talent of Gold Sixteen to one	7200	00	00

Attic Money according to Mr. Brerewood.

An <i>Attic</i> Drachm	000	00	07½
An hundred Drachms made a Mina	003	02	06
Sixty Mina's made a Talent	187	10	00
A Talent of Gold Sixteen to one	3000	00	00

Attic Money according to Dr. Bernard.

An <i>Attic</i> Drachm	000	00	08¼
An hundred Drachms made a Mina	003	08	09
Sixty Mina's made a Talent	206	05	00
A Talent of Gold Sixteen to one	3300	00	00

Babylonish Money according to Mr. Brerewood.

A <i>Babylonish</i> Talent of Silver containing seven thousand <i>At-</i> <i>tic</i> Drachms	}	218	15	00
A <i>Babylonish</i> Talent in Gold Sixteen to one				
	}	3500	00	00

Babylonish Money according to Dr. Bernard.

A <i>Babylonish</i> Talent in Silver	240	12	06
A <i>Babylonish</i> Talent in Gold	{	3850	00 00
Sixteen to one			

Alex-

Alexandrian Money.

A Drachm of <i>Alexandria</i> containing two <i>Attic</i> Drachms, as valued by the <i>Jews</i>	}	000 01 06
A Didrachm of <i>Alexandria</i> , containing two <i>Alexandrian</i> Drachms, which was an <i>Hebrew</i> Shekel	}	000 03 00
Sixty Didrachms or <i>Hebrew</i> Shekels made a Mina	}	009 00 00
Fifty Minas made a Talent		450 00 00
A Talent of Gold Sixteen to one		7200 00 00

Roman Money.

Four Sestercius's made a <i>Roman</i> Denarius	}	000 00 07 $\frac{1}{2}$
Ninety six <i>Roman</i> Denarius's made an <i>Italick</i> Mina, which was the same with a <i>Roman</i> Libra	}	003 00 00
Seventy two <i>Roman</i> Libras made a Talent	}	216 00 00

If any desire a fuller account of the Money of the Ancients, he may read Mr. *Brerewood de Ponderibus & Pretiis veterum Nummorum*, Bishop *Cumberland* of the Jewish Measures, Weights and Monies, Dr. *Bernard de Mensuris & Ponderibus antiquis*, and others, that have written of this Argument. It sufficeth for my present purpose, that I here insert so much, as may serve for a Key to those passages in

VOL. I. C the

the ensuing History, where any sum of Money, or any quantity of Gold or Silver is mentioned.

So little mention having been made of *Zoroastres* by the western writers, whether *Greek* or *Latin*, the Reader may perchance be surprised to find so much said of him in this History, and his time placed so much later, than is vulgarly reckoned. But how sparingly soever the *Greeks* or *Latins* may have been in speaking of him, what hath been wanting in them hath been sufficiently supplied by the *Persians* and *Arabs*, who have given us large accounts of him, and have placed his time, where truly it was, that is in the time of *Darius Hystaspis* King of *Persia*. Whatsoever we find written of him by the *Arabs*, is taken from the *Persians*. For it was not 'till after the time of *Mahomet*, that the *Arabs* had any literature among them, but the *Persians* had it long before. For we find in Scripture, (m) that the *Persians* had Books and Registers, in which all the actions of their Kings and the Histories of their reigns were carefully recorded; and *Ctesias* (n) tells us the same, and that it was out of those Books and Registers, that he extracted his History, which he wrote of the *Assyrian* and *Persian* affairs (o) in twenty three Books. And *Persia* being the Country, which was the scene of all *Zoroastres's* doings, there it is, that we may most likely expect the

(m) Ezra iv. 15, 19. v. 17. vi. 1, 2. Esther vi. 1. (n) Apud Diodorum Siculum lib. 2.

(o) Photius in Excerptis.

best account of him. And since he was there the founder, and great Patriarch of the Religion, which was received, and reigned in that Country from the time of *Darius Hystaspis*, to the death of *Yazdegerd*, for near eleven hundred and fifty years; and consequently was among them (as he is still among the remainder of that Sect) in the same esteem and veneration, that *Mahomet* is among the *Mahometans*; no wonder that much hath been said of him by their writers. And if those writers have been as ancient, as those of the *Greeks* and other Nations, I know not why they should not have the same Authority. I acknowledge many fabulous things have crept into their writings concerning him, as there have into the *Roman* Legends of their Saints, and for the same reason, that is to create in vulgar minds the greater veneration for him. What I have out of the latter, I am beholden for to *Dr. Hyde's* Book *De Religione veterum Persarum*; for I understand not the *Persian* Language. All that could be gotten out of both these sorts of writers, concerning him or his Religion, that carry with it any air of truth, is here carefully laid together, as also every thing else, that is said of either of them by the *Greeks*, or any other authentic Writers. And out of all this put together is made up that account, which I have given of this famous Impostor. And if the life of *Mahomet*, which I have formerly publish'd, be compar'd herewith, it will appear hereby, how much of the way, which this latter Impostor took for the propagating of his

his fraud, had been chalked out to him by the other. Both of them were very crafty knaves. But *Zoroastres* being a person of the greatest learning of his time, and the other so wholly ignorant of it, that he could neither write nor read, he was by much the more eminent of the two, tho' the other hath had the greater Success in the propagation of his sect; the *Magians* scarce having ever enlarged themselves beyond the present bounds of the Kingdom of *Persia*, and some parts of *Mesopotamia*, *Arabia*, and *India*, whereas the *Mahometans* have overspread a great part of the world. For which they have been beholden to the prevailing power of two mighty Empires erected by them, that is that of the *Saracens* first, and next that of the *Turks*, who having extended their Conquests over many Countries and Kingdoms, have by the power of the sword subjugated the Inhabitants to their Religion, as well as to their Empire.

To make this History the more clear, I have found it necessary to take in within its compass the affairs of all the other Eastern Nations, as well as those of the *Jews*, the latter not being thoroughly to be understood without the other. And as far as the *Grecian* affairs have been complicated with those of *Persia*, *Syria*, or *Ægypt*, I have been oblig'd to take notice of them also. And without doing this I could not lead the Reader to so clear a view of the completion of those Prophecies of the old Testament, which I have in the ensuing History explained. For how could the completion
of

of the Prophecy, which we have of *Xerxes*, and his stirring up of all against the Realm of *Grecia* (*Daniel* xi. 2.) be understood, without having an account of the war which he made against *Grecia*? Or how could the fulfilling of the Prophecies, which were delivered of *Alexander*, his swift victories, and his breaking by them the power of *Persia* (*Dan.* vii. 6. and chap. viii. 5, 6, 21. and chap. x. 20. and chap. xi. 3, 4.) be brought into a clear light, without laying before the Reader the whole Series of those wars, whereby it was effected? Or how could the verification of the Prophecies concerning the four Successors of *Alexander*, written by the same Prophet (*Dan.* viii. 8. and chap. xi. 4.) be fully evidenced without giving a thorough narrative of all those Transactions and Wars, whereby it was brought to pass, that the Empire of that great Conqueror was at length divided among four of his chief Commanders? The Instance given in these particulars may serve to satisfy the Reader as to all the rest.

To make all things the easier to the *English* Reader, for whom I chiefly design this work, I have carefully avoided troubling him with any Exotic words in the Text. And where I have been forced in some places to insert *Hebrew* words, I have chosen for his sake to do it in *English* letters. All things else, that may be above a meer *English* Reader, I have referred to the Notes and Quotations at the bottom of the page, and in them I quote every thing in *English*, where the *English* Reader can examine what I quote, and there only where he

cannot are the References and Quotations in any other Language.

Several have in *Latin* written by way of Annals of the times of which I treat, as *Torniellus*, *Salianus*, *Capellus*, and others. But above all of this kind are Archbishop *Usher's* Annals of the Old and New Testament, which is the exactest and most perfect work of Chronology that hath been published; to which I acknowledge I have been much beholden; and altho' I have not always concurred with him, yet I have for the most part, especially in the ordering and settling the years, to which I refer the actions that are related. For I look on what he hath done before me herein to be the surest and safest clue I could conduct my self by through all the intricate Labyrinths of ancient times, and therefore I have generally followed him in the fixing of the years, excepting only where I saw very good reason to do otherwise. But as to the other Annalists I have mentioned, I have found it most an end only loss of time to consult them.

If I have been too large in my explication of the Prophecy of *Daniel's* seventy weeks, or in the account which I have given of the *Hebrew* Scriptures, or in any other discourse of like nature occasionally intermix'd in this work, the Importance of the subjects must be my Excuse. For the chief design of this History, and my main end in writing it, being to clear the way to the better understanding of the Holy Scriptures both of the Old and the New Testament, I have thought my self obliged in the pursuit
hereof

hereof to handle every thing to the full, as it came in my way, that might any wise tend hereto. And if the Reader receiveth any benefit from it, let him give God the praise, who hath enabled me under a very calamitous and broken state of health, to finish this first part of my design, and still to go on with my Studies for the compleating of the other.

Norwich,
Aug. 1. 1715.

Humphrey Prideaux.



to handle every thing to the full, as it
was in my way, that night, while the
light was still in the room, my po-
sition is, let him who is God, who
has created me under a very different
state of mind, to that in which I
am now, and let me go on with my sin-
ner's confession of the same.

Philadelphia, 1844

PALÆSTINA
SEV
TERRA SANCTA.

MARE MAGNUM

SIVE

MEDITERRANEI

PARS.

ÆGYPTI PARS

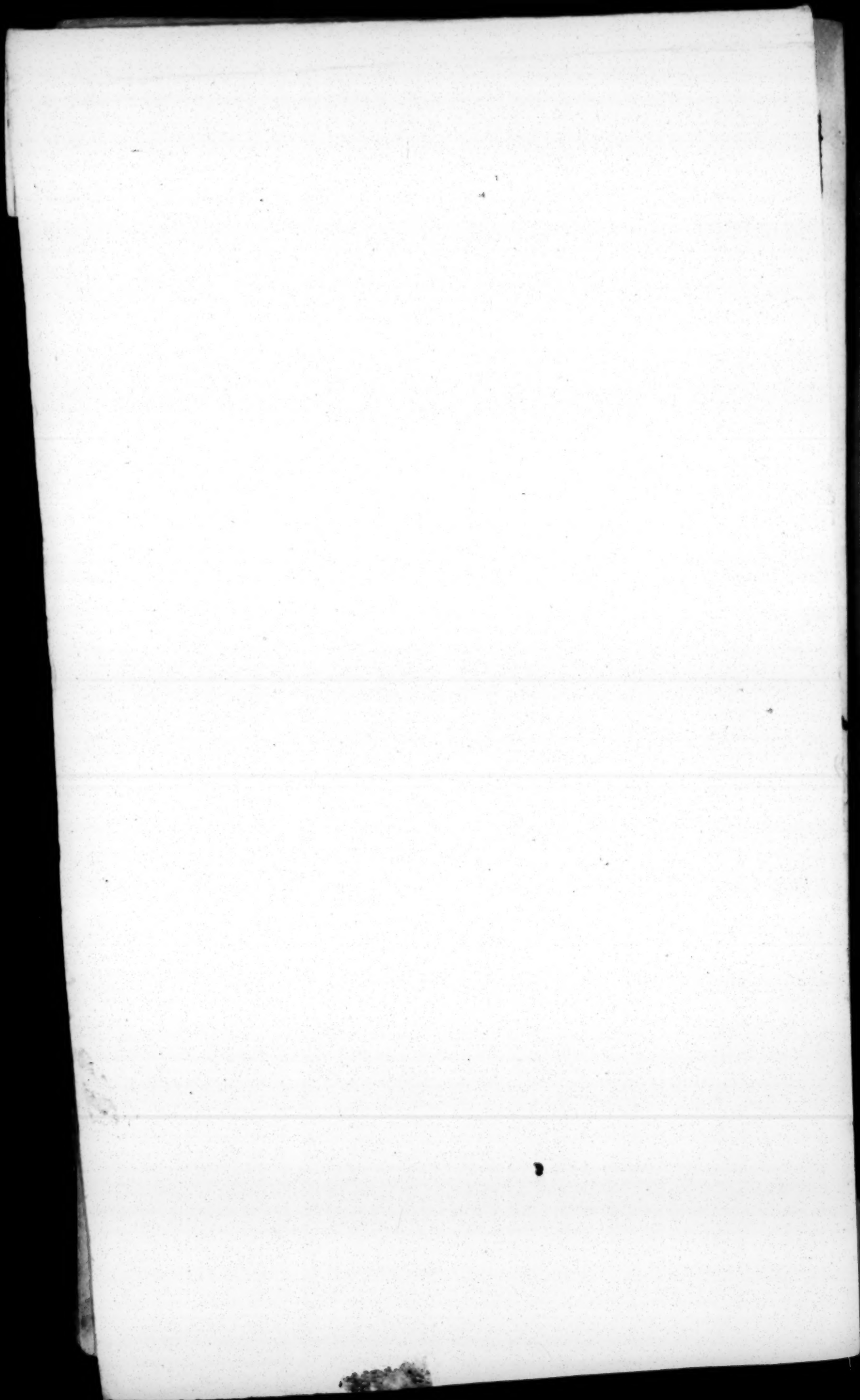
ARABIA PÆTREA

Desertum Etham

Sinus
Elaniticus

MERIDIES

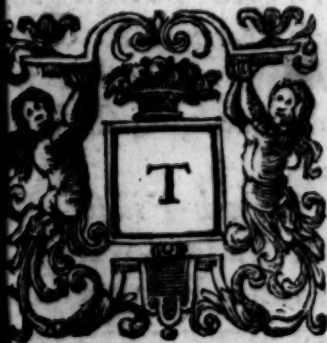






THE
OLD *and* NEW TESTAMENT
Connected in the
HISTORY
OF THE
Jews and Neighbouring Nations,
FROM THE
Declension of the Kingdoms of *Israel*
and *Judah* to the time of CHRIST.

BOOK I.



THE ancient Empire of the *Assyrians*, which had govern'd *Asia* for above thirteen hundred years, being dissolv'd *An. 747.* on the death of *Sardanapalus*, there (a) arose up two Empires in its stead; the one founded by *Arbaces* Governour of *Media*, and the other by *Belesis* Governour of *Babylon*; who

(a) Diodorus Siculus, lib. 2. Athenæus, lib. 12. Herodotus, lib. 1. Justin, lib. 1. c. 3.

were

were the two principal Commanders, that headed the Conspiracy, whereby the former Empire was brought to an End; which they having on their Success parted among themselves, *Belesis* had *Babylon*, *Chaldea*, and *Arabia*; and *Arbaces* all the rest. This hapned in the seventh year after the building of *Rome*, and in the second year of the eighth Olympiad, which was the seven hundred forty seventh Year before *Christ*, i. e. before the beginning of the Vulgar *Æra*, by which we now compute the years from his Incarnation.

Arbaces is in Scripture called (b) *Tiglath-Pileser* and (c) *Tilgath-Pilnefer*, in (d) *Ælian Tilgamus*, and by (e) *Castor Ninus junior*. He fixed his Royal Seat at *Nineveh*, the same place where the former *Assyrian* Kings had their Residence, and there he governed his new-erected Empire nineteen years.

Belesis is the same with *Nabonassar*, from the Beginning of whose Reign at *Babylon* commenceth the famous Astronomical *Æra*, from him called the *Æra of Nabonassar*. He is by (f) *Nicolas Damascenus* call'd *Nanibrus*, and in the holy Scripture (g) *Baladan*, being the Father of *Merodac* or *Mordac Empadus*, who sent an Embassy to King *Hezekiah* to congratulate him on his recovery from his sickness, which will be hereafter spoken of.

And these two Empires God was pleased to raise up to be his Instruments in their turns to punish the iniquities of his own people; the first for the overthrowing of the Kingdom of *Israel*, and the other for the overthrowing of the Kingdom of *Judah*, as shall be shewn in the sequel of this History.

In the sixth year of *Tiglath-Pileser* (b) *Abaz* began to reign over *Judah*, who being a very wicked and impious Prince, God stirred up against him *Rezin* King of *Syria* and *Pekah*

An. 742. *Abaz* 1. (b) 2 Kings xv. 29. & xvi. 7. 10. (c) 1 Chron. v. 6. 2 Chron. xxviii. 20. (d) Hist. Animal. lib. 12. c. 21. (e) Euseb. Chron. p. 46. (f) In Eclogis Valefii p. 426, &c. (g) Isaiah xxxix. 1. (h) 2 Kings xvi. 2 Chron. xxviii.

BOOK I. *the Old and New Testament.*

3

King of *Israel*, who confederating together invaded his Land with a great Army, and having harrassed it all over pent him up in *Jerusalem*, and there besieged him.

Their Design was (i) on the taking of that City to have wholly extirpated the House of *David*, and to have set up a new King over *Judah*, the Son of *Tabeal*. Who this Person was, is no where said in Scripture, but he seemeth to have been some potent and factious *Jew*, who having revolted from his Master the King of *Judah*, excited and stirred up this war against him out of an ambitious aim of plucking him down from his Throne, and reigning in his stead.

But it being the Will of God only to punish *Abaz* for his wickedness, and not the whole Family of *David*, for which he had always for the sake of *David* expressed mercy and favour, he was pleased to prevent the mischief by blasting the whole design. And therefore he sent the Prophet *Isaiah* unto *Abaz* to encourage him valiantly to withstand the Enemy in the defence of the City, and to assure him, that they should not prevail against him. And for this he gave him two signs, the one to be accomplished speedily, and the other some ages after.

The first was that the Prophet should take him a wife, who should immediately on that marriage conceive a son, and that before that son should be of Age to discern between good and evil, both these Kings should be cut off from the Land; which accordingly came to pass. For the Prophet (k) immediately after taking a wife, before *Maher-shalhash-baz*, the son born to him of that marriage, arrived to the age of discerning between good and evil, both these Kings were slain, *Rezin* in the third year of *Abaz*, and *Pekah* the next year after.

The other sign was, that (l) a virgin should conceive, and bear a son, who should be called *Emmanuel*;

(i) *Isaiah* vii. (k) *Isaiah* viii. (l) *Isaiah* vii. 14. *Matth.* i. 22.

that

were the two principal Commanders, that headed the Conspiracy, whereby the former Empire was brought to an End; which they having on their Success parted among themselves, *Belesis* had *Babylon*, *Chaldea*, and *Arabia*; and *Arbaces* all the rest. This hapned in the seventh year after the building of *Rome*, and in the second year of the eighth Olympiad, which was the seven hundred forty seventh Year before *Christ*, i. e. before the beginning of the Vulgar *Æra*, by which we now compute the years from his Incarnation.

Arbaces is in Scripture called (b) *Tiglath-Pileser* and (c) *Thilgath-Pilneser*, in (d) *Ælian Thilgamus*, and by (e) *Castor Ninus junior*. He fixed his Royal Seat at *Nineveh*, the same place where the former *Assyrian* Kings had their Residence, and there he governed his new-erected Empire nineteen years.

Belesis is the same with *Nabonassar*, from the Beginning of whose Reign at *Babylon* commenceth the famous Astronomical *Æra*, from him called the *Æra of Nabonassar*. He is by (f) *Nicolas Damascenus* call'd *Nanibrus*, and in the holy Scripture (g) *Baladan*, being the Father of *Merodac* or *Mordac Empadus*, who sent an Embassy to King *Hezekiah* to congratulate him on his recovery from his sickness, which will be hereafter spoken of.

And these two Empires God was pleased to raise up to be his Instruments in their turns to punish the iniquities of his own people; the first for the overthrowing of the Kingdom of *Israel*, and the other for the overthrowing of the Kingdom of *Judah*, as shall be shewn in the sequel of this History.

In the sixth year of *Tiglath-Pileser* (h)
Abaz began to reign over *Judah*, who being a very wicked and impious Prince, God stirred up against him *Rezin* King of *Syria* and *Pekah*

(b) 2 Kings xv. 29. & xvi. 7. 10. (c) 1 Chron. v. 6.
 2 Chron. xxviii. 20. (d) Hist. Animal. lib. 12. c. 21. (e) Euseb.
 Chron. p. 46. (f) In Eclogis Valefii p. 426, &c. (g) Isaiah xxxix. 1.
 (h) 2 Kings xvi. 2 Chron. xxviii.

BOOK I. *the Old and New Testament.*

3

King of *Israel*, who confederating together invaded his Land with a great Army, and having harrassed it all over pent him up in *Jerusalem*, and there besieged him.

Their Design was (i) on the taking of that City to have wholly extirpated the House of *David*, and to have set up a new King over *Judah*, the Son of *Tabeal*. Who this Person was, is no where said in Scripture, but he seemeth to have been some potent and factious *Jew*, who having revolted from his Master the King of *Judah*, excited and stirred up this war against him out of an ambitious aim of plucking him down from his Throne, and reigning in his stead.

But it being the Will of God only to punish *Abaz* for his wickedness, and not the whole Family of *David*, for which he had always for the sake of *David* expressed mercy and favour, he was pleased to prevent the mischief by blasting the whole design. And therefore he sent the Prophet *Isaiab* unto *Abaz* to encourage him valiantly to withstand the Enemy in the defence of the City, and to assure him, that they should not prevail against him. And for this he gave him two signs, the one to be accomplished speedily, and the other some ages after.

The first was that the Prophet should take him a wife, who should immediately on that marriage conceive a son, and that before that son should be of Age to discern between good and evil, both these Kings should be cut off from the Land; which accordingly came to pass. For the Prophet (k) immediately after taking a wife, before *Maber-shalabash-baz*, the son born to him of that marriage, arrived to the age of discerning between good and evil, both these Kings were slain, *Rezin* in the third year of *Abaz*, and *Pekah* the next year after.

The other sign was, that (l) a virgin should conceive, and bear a son, who should be called *Emmanuel*,

(i) *Isaiab* vii. (k) *Isaiab* viii. (l) *Isaiab* vii. 14. *Marth.* i. 22.

that

that is, God with us, the *Messias* that was promised, God manifested in our nature, and for a while here dwelling with us to accomplish the great work of our Salvation. Which Prophecy was then delivered to comfort and support the drooping and desponding Spirits of the House of *David*; who seeing so great a force armed against them, and intending their Destruction, were under terrible apprehensions, as if their utter extirpation were then at hand. From which despair this Prophecy fully relieved them, in assuring them, that their House should stand, and continue, till this Prediction should be accomplished, and the *Messias* born of their race in such manner, as was hereby foretold.

After this the two Kings according to the words of the Prophet failing of their design were forced to raise the Siege, and return home, without prevailing in the enterprize, which they had undertaken.

But (m) *Ahaz* after this, instead of being reformed by the mercy, growing more wicked and perverse than before, in absolutely rejecting the God of *Israel*, and cleaving to the worst abominations of the heathen nations round him, even to the making of his Sons

An. 741.
Ahaz 2.

pass through the fire to *Molech*, the next year after (n) God brought again upon him the same two confederated Kings, from whom he had delivered him the former year, who coming with forces better appointed, and counsels better concerted than before, divided themselves into three armies; the first under *Rezin* King of *Syria*; the second under *Pekah* King of *Israel*; and the third under *Zichri* a mighty Man of *Ephraim*; and with these three armies, the more to distract him, they invaded him in three different parts of his Kingdom at the same time. *Rezin* in his ravage having loaded his army with Spoils, and taken a vast number of Captives, returned with them to *Damascus*, thinking it his best interest there to secure

(m) 2 Chron. xxviii. 2---5. (n) 2 Kings xvi. 2 Chron. xxviii.

what

what he had gotten. *Pekab* with his army marched directly against *Abaz*, who had got together the main strength of his Kingdom to oppose this Invasion; and thereby for some time did put a stop to the progress of this part of the enemies forces, but at length being encouraged by the departure of *Rezin* to give them Battel, he was overthrown with a most terrible destruction, an hundred and twenty thousand of his men being slain in that day. Of which blow *Zichri* taking the advantage led his forces to *Jerusalem*, and took the Royal City, where he slew *Maaseiah* the King's Son, and most of the chief Governours and great Men of the Kingdom, whom he found there. And both these Armies of *Israel* on their return carried with them vast Spoils, and above two hundred thousand persons, whom they had taken Captive with intention to have sold them for bondmen and bondwomen. But a Prophet from God having severely rebuked them for this their excessive cruelty against their Brethren, whom God had delivered into their Hands, the Elders of the Land fearing the like wrath upon themselves for the punishment hereof, would not permit them to bring the Captives to *Samaria*, whereon they were cloathed and relieved out of the spoils, and again sent back unto their own homes.

And the Land was no sooner delivered from these enemies, but it was again invaded by others, who treated it with the same cruelty. For the *Edomites* and the *Philistines*, who next bordered on it, the former on the *South*, and the other on the *West*, seeing *Judah* brought thus low, took the advantage to seize on those parts which lay next unto them, and by ravages and inroads did all the mischief to the rest, that lay in their power.

An. 740.
Ahaz 3.

But *Abaz* continuing still hardned in his iniquity, notwithstanding all this, which he had suffered for the punishment of it, would not seek the Lord his God, or return unto him from his evil ways, but putting his confidence rather in man pillaged the
Temple

Temple of all the Gold and Silver that was found therein, and sent it to *Tiglath-Pileser* King of *Assyria* to engage him to come to his assistance against his enemies, promising thereon to become his Servant, and pay Tribute unto him.

The King of *Assyria* having an opportunity hereby offered unto him of adding *Syria* and *Palestine* to his Empire, readily laid hold of the invitation, and marched with a great army into those parts, where having slain *Rezin* in battel he took *Damascus*, and reduced all that Country under his Dominion. And hereby he put an end to the Kingdom of the *Syrians* in *Damascus*, after it had lasted there for ten Generations, that is from the time of *Rezon* the Son of *Eliadab*, (o) who first founded it, while *Solomon* was King over *Israel*.

After this *Tiglath-Pileser* (p) marched against *Pe-kab*, and seized all that belonged to *Israel* beyond *Jordan*, and also all the Land of *Galilee*, and then went forward towards *Jerusalem*, but rather to get more money of *Abaz*. than to afford him any real help. For he assisted him not for the recovery of any of those places which had been taken from him during the war, either by the *Philistines*, *Edomites*, or other Enemies, but when he had got from him all that he could (for the raising of which *Abaz* cut the vessels of the Temple into pieces, and melted them down) he march'd back to *Damascus*, and there wintered, without doing any thing more for him. So that in reality he was rather distressed, than any way helped by this alliance, the Land being almost as much exhausted by the presents and subsidies, which were extorted from him by this his pretended Friend and Ally, as it was by the ravages and pillages of his open enemies. And moreover two lasting mischiefs followed hereon. For 1st, instead of two petty Princes, whom he had afore for his Neighbours, and with either of which he was well able to

(o) 1 Kings xi. 23---25. (p) 2 Kings xvi. 2 Chron. xxviii.

cope, he had now this mighty King for his borderer, against whom no power of the land was sufficient to make any resistance, and the ill effect hereof both *Israel* and *Judah* did afterwards sufficiently feel. For it became at length to both of them the cause of their destruction. 2dly, From this time the *Jews* were excluded all their Traffic into the *Southern Sea*, which had hitherto been one of the chiefest foundations of their riches.

This they had long carried on through the *Red Sea*, and the Streights of *Babelmandel*, not only to the Coasts of *Africa*, on the West, but also to those of *Arabia*, *Persia*, and *India*, on the East, and reaped a prodigious profit from it. King *David* was the first (q) who began it: For having (r) conquer'd the Kingdom of *Edom*, and reduc'd it to be a Province of his Empire, he thereby became Master of two Seaport Towns on the *Red Sea*, *Elath* and *Esfongeber*, (s) which then belonged to that Kingdom; and seeing the advantage, which might be made of the situation of these two places, he wisely took the Benefit of it, and there begun this Traffic. There are two places mentioned in Scripture, to which it was from thence carried on, that is *Ophir* and *Tarshish*. From the former of these *David* in his time drew great Profit. For the three thousand Talents of Gold of *Ophir*, which he is said (1 *Chron.* xxix. 4.) to have given to the House of God, seem to be of that Gold of *Ophir*, which he himself had by his fleets in several voyages brought to him from thence. For what he had reserved for this work out of the spoils of war, the Tributes of the conquered Nations, and the publick revenues of his Kingdom, is before mentioned (c. xxii. v. 14.) and amounted to (fs) a prodigious

(q) Eupolemus apud Euseb. Præp. Evang. lib. 9. (r) 2 Sam. viii. 14. 1 Kings xi. 15, 16. 1 Chron. xviii. 13. (s) 1 Kings ix. 26. 2 Chron. viii. 17. (fs) This Sum is so prodigious, as gives reason to think that the Talents, whereby that Sum is reckoned, were another sort of Talents of a far less value, than the Mosaic Talents, of which an account is given in the preface.

digious Sum. The three thousand Talents of the Gold of *Ophir*, which he added, was over and above this, and out of his own proper goods, or private estate, which he had besides what belong'd to him as King. And how he could increase that so far, as out of that only to be able to give so great a Sum, can scarce any other way be accounted for, than by the great returns which were made him from this Traffic. For the Gold alone amounted to (t) above one and twenty Millions of our Money, besides the seven thousand Talents of refined Silver, (u) which were included in the same gift. After *David*, (w) *Solomon* carried on the same Traffic to *Ophir*, and had from thence in one voyage (x) four hundred and fifty Talents of Gold. And if *Solomon* got so much in one voyage, well might *David* have gained the Sum above-mentioned in the several voyages, which were made thither for him from the time that he had subdued the Land of *Edom* to the time of his Death, which was at least twenty five Years. But it must be acknowledged that *Solomon* much improved this Trade, not only by his greater wisdom, but also by his greater application to all the business of it. For not being perplexed and incumber'd with such Wars, as his Father *David* was, he had more leisure to attend thereto. And therefore for the better settling of it, he (y) went in person to *Elat*, and *Esiongeber*, and there took care by his own inspection for the building of his Ships, the fortifying of both those Ports, and the settling of every thing else, which might

preface. For what is said to be given by *David*, (1 Chron. xxii. 14, 15, 16. & xxix. 3, 4, 5.) and contributed by his Princes, (xxix. 6, 7, 8.) toward the building of the Temple at Jerusalem, if valued by these Talents, exceeded the value of eight hundred millions of our money, which was enough wherewith to have built all that Temple of solid silver. (t) For three thousand Hebrew Talents of gold reduced to our money amount to twenty one millions and six hundred thousand Pound sterling. (u) 1 Chron. xxix. 4. (w) 1 Kings ix. 26, 27, 28. & cap. x. 11. 22. 2 Chron. viii. 17, 18. cap. ix. 10—21. (x) 2 Chron. viii. 18. The 450 Talents here mentioned amount to three millions two hundred and forty thousand Pound of our present sterling money. (y) 2 Chron. viii. 17.

tend

tend to the successful carrying on of this Traffic, not only to *Ophir*, but to all other parts, where the Sea, on which these Ports lay, opened a passage. But his chiefest care was to plant those two Towns with such Inhabitants, as might be best able to serve him in this Design. For which purpose he brought thither from the Sea Coasts of *Palestine* as many as he could get, of those who had been there used to the Sea, especially of the *Tyrians*, (z) whom his Friend and Ally *Hiram* King of *Tyre* from thence furnished him with in great numbers, and these were the most useful to him in this Affair. For they being in those days, and for many ages after, the most skilful of all others in sea affairs, they were the best able to navigate his Ships, and conduct his Fleets, through long Voyages. But the use of the Compass not being then known, the way of Navigation was in those times only by Coasting, which often made a voyage to be of three years, which now may be finished almost in three months. However this Trade succeeded so far, and grew to so high a pitch under the wise management of *Solomon*, that thereby he drew to these two Ports, and from thence to *Jerusalem*, all the Trade of *Africa*, *Arabia*, *Persia*, and *India*, which was the chief fountain of those immense riches which he acquired, and (a) whereby he exceeded all the Kings of the Earth in his time as much as he did by his wisdom, so that (b) he made silver to be at *Jerusalem* as the stones of the street, by reason of the great plenty with which it there abounded during his reign. After the Division of the Kingdom, *Edom* being of that part which remained to the House of *David*, they still continued to carry on this Trade (c) from those two Ports, especially from *Esfiongeber*, which they chiefly made use of till the time of *Jehosaphat*. But he having there

(z) 1 Kings ix. 27. 2 Chron. viii. 18. & cap. ix. 10, 21. (a) 1 Kings x. 23. 2 Chron. ix. 22. (b) 1 Kings x. 27. 2 Chron. ix. 27. (c) 1 Kings xxii. 48. 2 Chron. xx. 36.

lost his Fleet, which he had prepared to sail from thence to *Ophir* in partnership with *Abaziah* King of *Israel*, this spoiled the credit of that harbour. For there being nigh the mouth of it (*d*) a ridge of Rocks, as this fleet was passing out of the Port, they were by a sudden gust of wind, which God sent on purpose for the punishment of this Confederacy, driven upon those Rocks, where (*e*) they were all broken to pieces and lost. And therefore for the avoiding of the like mischief for the future, the station of the King's Ships was thenceforth removed to *Eloth*, from whence *Jehosaphat* the next year after sent out another fleet for the same place. For whereas it is said, that he lost the first fleet for confederating with the idolatrous King of *Israel*, and we are told (*f*) in another place of his sending forth a fleet for *Ophir* in which he would not permit *Ahaziah* to have any partnership with him, this plainly proves the sending out of two fleets by *Jehosaphat*, the first in partnership with *Abaziah*, and the other without it. And thus this Affair was carried on from the time of *David* till the Death of *Jehosaphat*. For till then the land of *Edom* (*g*) was all in the hands of the Kings of *Judah*, and was wholly governed by a Deputy or Vice-Roy there placed by them. But when *Jehoram* succeeded *Jehosaphat*, and God for the punishment of the exceeding great wickedness of that Prince had withdrawn his protection from him, *Esau*, according to the prophecy of *Isaac*, (*h*) did break the yoke of *Jacob* from off his neck, after having served him (as foretold by that prophecy) for several Generations, that is from the time of *David* till then. For on *Jehoram's* having revolted from God (*i*) the *Edomites* revolted from him, and having expelled his Vice-Roy chose them

(*d*) Because of these Rocks it had the name of *Esioggeber*, which signified the back-bone of a man, for these Rocks resembled it. (*e*) 1 Kings xxii. 48. 2 Chron. xx. 36, 37. (*f*) 1 Kings xxii. 49. (*g*) 1 Kings xxii. 47. (*h*) Gen. xxvii. 40. (*i*) 2 Kings viii. 20--22.

a King of their own, and under his conduct recover'd their ancient Liberty, and were not after that any more subject to the Kings of *Judah*. And from this time the *Jewish* Traffic through the *Red Sea* had an interruption, till the reign of *Uzziah*. But he in the very beginning of his reign (*k*) having recovered *Elath* again to *Judah* fortified it a-new, and having driven out the *Edomites* planted it again with his own people, and there renewed their old Traffic, which was from thence carried on and continued till the reign of *Abaz*. But then *Rezin* King of *Damascus* having in conjunction with *Pekab* King of *Israel* oppressed and weakened *Judah* to that degree, which I have mentioned, he took the advantage of it to seize *Elath*, and driving (*l*) out the *Jews* from thence planted it with *Syrians*, purposing thereby to draw to himself the whole profit of that Traffic of the southern Seas, which the Kings of *Judah* had hitherto reaped by having that Port. But the next year after *Tiglath-Pileser* having conquered *Rezin*, and subdued the Kingdom of *Damascus*, he seized with it *Elath*, as then belonging to his new conquest, and without having any regard to his Friend and Ally King *Ahaz*, or the just claim which he had thereto, kept it ever after, and thereby put an end to all that great profit which the *Jews* till then had reaped from this Traffic, and transferred it to the *Syrians*, which became a great diminution of their Wealth. For although they did not always carry it on with the same full gales of prosperity, as in the time of King *Solomon*, yet it was constantly, as long as they had it, of very great advantage to them. For it included all the Trade of *India*, *Persia*, *Africa*, and *Arabia*, which was carried on through the *Red Sea*. But after *Rezin* had thus dispossessed them of it, they never had it any more restored to them, but were ever after wholly excluded from it. From thenceforth all the Merchandize that came that way, instead of being

(*k*) 2 Kings xiv. 22. 2 Chron. xxvi. 2. (*l*) 2 Kings xvi. 6.

brought to *Jerusalem* was carried elsewhere. But at what place the *Syrians* fixed their principal mart for it, while it was in their hands, is no where said. But at length we find the whole of this trade engrossed by the *Tyrians*, who managing it from the same Port made it by the way (m) of *Rhinocorura* (a sea-port town lying between the confines of *Egypt* and *Palestine*) centre all at *Tyre*, and from thence they furnished all the western parts of the world with the wares of *Persia*, *India*, *Africa*, and *Arabia*, which thus by the way of the *Red Sea* they traded to, and hereby they exceedingly enriched themselves during the *Persian* Empire, under the favour and protection of whose Kings they had the full possession of this trade. But when the *Ptolemys* prevailed in *Egypt*, they did by building (n) *Berenice*, *Myos-Hormos*, and other ports on the *Egyptian* or western side of the *Red Sea* (for *Eloth* and *Esfiongeber* lay on the eastern) and by sending forth fleets from thence to all those countries, to which the *Tyrians* traded from *Eloth*, soon drew all this trade into that kingdom, and there fixed the chief mart of it at *Alexandria*, (o) which was thereby made the greatest mart in the world, and there it continued for a great many ages after; and all the marine traffic, which the western parts of the world from that time had with *Persia*, *India*, *Arabia*, and the *Eastern* coasts of *Africa*, was wholly carried on through the *Red Sea*, and the mouth of the *Nile*, till a way was found (p) a little above two hundred years since of sailing to those parts by the way of the *Cape of Good Hope*. After this the *Portugues* for some time managed this trade, but now it is in a manner wholly got into the hands of the *English* and *Dutch*. And this is a full account of the *East India* trade, from the time it was first begun by *David* and *Solomon*, to our present age.

(m) Strabo lib. 16. (n) Strabo lib. 17. (o) Strabo lib. 17. p. 798.
 (p) Anno Dom. 1497.

But though it be by all agreed, that the trade to *Ophir* and *Tarshish* was the same, that is now in the hands of our *East-India* Merchants, yet there are great disputes among learned men, in what parts of the eastern world these two places lay. Some will have *Ophir* to have been the Island of *Zocatora*, which lies on the eastern coasts of *Africa* a little without the *Streights* of *Babelmandel*. Others will have it to be the Island anciently called *Taprobana*, now *Ceylon*, and for its being an Island they have the authority of *Eupolemus* (an ancient author quoted by *Eusebius*) on their side. For speaking of *David* he saith of him, (q) *That he built Ships at Elath, a City of Arabia, and from thence sent Metal-men to the Island of Urphe (or Ophir) situated in the Red Sea, which was fruitful in yielding abundance of Gold, and the Metal-men brought it from thence to Judea.* But this being a question no way to be decided but from the Scriptures, all that is to be observed from thence is; 1st, That from *Elath* to *Tarshish* was a voyage (r) of three years going and coming: But in what compass of time the voyage to *Ophir* was compleated is not said, and that therefore *Tarshish* might be somewhere in the *East-Indies*, but *Ophir* might be any where nearer home within the reach of those Seas. 2^{dly}, That the commodities brought from *Tarshish*, (s) were *Gold, and Silver, and Ivory, and Apes, and Peacocks*; and those of *Ophir* (t) were *Gold, and Almug Trees, and precious Stones.* And therefore any place in the southern, or great *Indian Sea*, at the distance of a then three years voyage from *Elath*, which can best furnish the Merchants with *Gold, Silver, Ivory, Apes, and Peacocks*, may be guessed to be the *Tarshish* of the holy Scriptures; and any place within the compass of the same southern Sea that can best furnish them with *Gold, Almug Trees, and precious Stones*, and in that quantity of *Gold*, as *Solomon*

(q) Apud Euseb. Præp. Evang. lib. 9. (r) 1 Kings x. 22.
2 Chron. ix. 21. (s) 1 Kings x. 22. (t) 1 Kings x. 11.

brought home in one voyage, may be guessed to be the *Ophir* in the said holy Scriptures mentioned. Only thus much I cannot forbear to say, That if the southern part of *Arabia* did furnish the world in those times (u) with the best Gold and in the greatest quantity (as good Authors say) they that would have the *Ophir* of the holy Scriptures to be there situated, seem of all others to have the best foundation for their Conjecture. But more than Conjecture no one can have in this matter.

But for the better understanding of what *Eupolemus* above saith of *Ophir*, that it was an Island in the *Red Sea*, it is proper here to take notice, that he doth not there mean the *Arabian Gulph*, which lyeth between *Arabia* and *Egypt*, and is now commonly called the *Red Sea*; but (w) the great southern Ocean, which extending it self between *India* and *Africa* washeth up to the coast of *Arabia* and *Persia*, where it appearing of a reddish colour by reason of the fierceness of the Sun-beams constantly bearing upon it in that hot Climate, it was therefore called the *Red Sea*, and this alone was that which was truly and properly called so by the Ancients. For the *Arabian Gulph* which hath now obtained that name was never for any such redness of it so called. For neither the water (as some will have it) nor the sand (as others say) hath there any appearance of that colour, nor was it ever by any of the Easterns formerly so called. Throughout the whole Scripture of the old Testament (x) it is called *Yam Suph*, that is

(u) Agatharcides (p. 60. Edit. Oxon.) tells us that the *Alileans* and *Cassandrians* in the southern parts of *Arabia* had Gold in that plenty among them, that they would give double the weight of Gold for Iron, triple its weight for Brass, and ten times its weight for Silver, and that in digging the Earth they found it in gobbets of pure Gold, which needed no refining, and that the least of them were as big as olive Stones, but others much larger. No other Author speaks of any other place in the world where it was ever found in the like plenty.

(w) Dionysii Periegesis v. 38. & Comment. Eustathii in eundem. Strabo lib. 16. p. 765. Agathemeris Geographia lib. 2. c. 11. (x) See *Exod.* x. 19. xiii. 18, &c.

the weedy Sea, by reason of the great quantity of Sea-weed which is therein; and the same name it also hath in the ancient *Syriac* version, as well as in the *Targum*, or *Chaldee* paraphrases. But among the ancient Inhabitants of the countries adjoining it was called *Yam Edom*, i. e. *The Sea of Edom*. For the sons of *Edom* having possessed all that country, which lying between the *Red Sea* and the Lake of *Sodom* was by the *Greeks* called *Arabia Petraea*, they then named it from their father *Edom* the land of *Edom*. And because that which we now call the *Red Sea* washed upon it, thence it was called *the Sea of Edom*, or in the Dialect of the *Greeks*, the *Edomian* or *Idumean Sea*, in the same manner as that, which washeth upon *Pamphylia*, was called the *Pamphylian Sea*, and that which washeth upon *Tyrrhenia*, the *Tyrrhenian Sea*, and so in abundance of other instances. But the *Greeks*, who took this name from the *Phœnicians*, finding it by them to be called *Yam Edom*, instead of rendring it *the Sea of Edom*, or the *Idumean Sea*, as they ought; mistook the word *Edom* to be an appellative instead of a proper name, and therefore rendered it ἐρυθρὰ θάλασσα, that is *the Red Sea*. For *Edom* in the language of that country signified *Red*, and it is said in scripture, that *Esau* (y) having sold his birth-right to his brother *Jacob* for a mess of red Pottage, he was for that reason called *Edom* that is *the Red*. And (z) *Strabo*, (a) *Pliny*, (b) *Mela*, and (bb) others, say, that this Sea was called so, not from any redness that was in it, but from a great King called *Erythrus*, who reigned in the country adjoining upon it, which name *Erythrus* signifying the same in *Greek*, that *Edom* did in the *Phœnician* and *Hebrew* languages, that is *the Red*, this plainly proves, that the great King *Erythrus* could

(y) Gen. xxv. 30. (z) Lib. 16. p. 766. (a) Lib. 6. c. 23. (b) Lib. 3. cap. 8. (bb) Agatharcides Edit. Ox. p. 2. Q. Curtius l. 8. c. 9. & lib. 10. c. 1. Philostratus lib. 3. c. 15. Arrianus in Rerum Indicarum libro, p. 579. Edit. Blanc.

be none other than *Edom*, who having planted his posterity in the country, as I have said, (c) from him it was called *the Land of Edom*, or with a Greek Termination *Edomæa*, or *Idumæa*; and from that Land, the Sea which washed upon it was called *the Sea of Edom*; but the Greeks translating *Edom* as an appella-tive into the word *Red*, which it signified, instead of rendring it in the same sound, as a proper name, from this mistake it was by them called the *Red Sea*, and that name it hath retained ever since.

But fully to clear what hath been above said, it is necessary farther to observe, that the *Idumæa* mentioned by *Strabo*, *Josephus*, *Pliny*, *Ptolemy*, and other ancient writers, was not that *Land of Edom*, or *Idumæa*, which gave name to the *Red Sea*; but another ancient *Idumæa*, which was vastly larger than that *Idumæa* which those Authors describe. For (d) it included all that land, which was afterwards from *Petra* the metropolis of it called *Arabia Petraea*. For all this was inhabited by the Sons of *Edom*, and from thence it was anciently called the *Land of Edom*. But (e) on a Sedition which arose among them, a Party going off from the rest, while the *Land of Judea* lay desolate during the *Babylonish* Captivity, they planted themselves on the South-western part of that Country, where they were called *Idumæans*, and that Land alone which they there possessed was the *Idumæa* which those Authors mention. Those who remained behind joining themselves to the *Isbmaelites* were from *Nebaioth* or *Nabath* the (f) Son of *Isbmael* called *Nabathæans*, and the Country which they possessed *Nabathæa*, and by that name we often hear of them in the ancient *Greek* and *Latin* Writers.

(c) See Fuller's *Miscellanies*, lib. 4. c. 20. (d) That it reached to the *Red Sea* appears from 2 Chron. viii. 17. for *Elath* and *Esiungeber* Cities of *Edom* were Ports on the *Red Sea*. (e) *Strabo* lib. 16. p. 760. (f) *Gen.* xxv. 13.

But to return from whence I have digressed: *Abaz* having gone so far with *Tiglath-Pileser*, as hath been said, found it necessary for him to overlook all Injuries to avoid provoking greater, and therefore carrying on the compliment towards him, as if he had really been that Friend and Protector, which he pretended to be, as soon as he heard that he was returned to *Damascus*, (g) he went thither to him to pay him that respect and obeysance, which after having owned him as his Protector and Sovereign he did now as his Client and Tributary owe unto him.

An. 739.
Ahaz 4.

While he was at *Damascus* on this occasion, (b) he saw there an Idolatrous Altar of a form, which he was much pleased with, whereon causing a pattern of it to be taken he sent it to *Urijah*, the High Priest at *Jerusalem*, to have another there made like unto it; and on his return having removed the Altar of the Lord out of its place in the Temple, ordered this new Altar to be set up in its stead. And thenceforth giving himself wholly up to Idolatry, (i) instead of the God of *Israel* he worshipped the Gods of the *Syrians*, and the Gods of the other Nations round him, saying, that they helped their People, and that therefore he would worship them, that they might help him also. And accordingly having filled *Jerusalem* and all *Judea* with their Idols, and their Altars, he would suffer no other God, but them only, to be worshipped in the Land; whereby having excluded the only true God the Lord his Creator, whom alone he ought to have adored, he caused his Temple to be shut up, and utterly suppressed his worship throughout all his Kingdom. And this he did with an air and profession of anger and defiance for that he had not deliver'd him in his distress, when the *Syrians* and *Israelites* came against him; as if it were in his power to revenge himself on the Almighty, and execute his

(g) 2 Kings xvi. 10. (b) 2 Kings xvi. 10 — 16. (i) 2 Kings xvi. 2 Chron. xxviii. 22 — 25.

wrath upon him that made him; to such an extravagant height of folly and madness had his impiety carried him beyond all that had reigned before him in *Jerusalem*, and in this he continued till at length he perished in it, being cut off in the flower of his Age, before he had out-lived half his Days.

Tiglath-Pileser on his return into *Assyria* carried with him great numbers of the People, whom he had taken Captive in the Kingdom of *Damascus*, and in the Land of *Israel*. Those of *Damascus* he planted (k) in *Kir*, and those of *Israel* (l) in *Helah*, and *Habor*, and *Hara*, and on the River *Gozan* in the Land of the *Medes*. *Kir* was a City in the hither part of *Media*, but *Halab*, *Habor*, *Hara*, and the River *Gozan* were farther remote. And herein was accomplished the Prophecy of the Prophet *Amos* (m) against *Israel*, wherein he foretold in the Days of *Uzziah* the Grandfather of *Abaz*, that God would cause them to go into Captivity beyond *Damascus*, that is unto places beyond where those of *Damascus* should be carried. *St. Stephen* (n) quoting this Prophecy renders it *beyond Babylon*. So the common Editions of the *Greek Testament* have it, and it is certainly true. For what was beyond *Kir* was also beyond *Babylon*, for *Kir* was beyond *Babylon*. But *Wicelius's* Edition (o) hath *Damascus* in *St. Stephen's* Speech also, and no doubt he had ancient Copies, which he followed herein.

The planting of the Colonies by *Tiglath-Pileser* in those Cities of the *Medes* plainly proves *Media* to have been then under the King of *Assyria*. For otherwise what had he to do to plant Colonies in that Country? And therefore *Tiglath-Pileser* and *Arbaces* were not two distinct Kings, whereof one had *Media*, and the other *Assyria*, as (p) *Archbishop Usher* supposeth, but must both be the same Person expressed under

(k) 2 Kings xvi. 9. (l) 1 Chron. v. 26. (m) Amos v. 26, 27.
 (n) Acts vii. 43. (o) See Dr. Mills's *Greek Testament*, Acts vii. 43.
 (p) *Annales veteris Testamenti sub anno Mundi* 3257.

these two distinct Names. And (q) *Diodorus Siculus* positively tells us, that *Arbaces* had *Affyria* as well as *Media* for his Share in the Partition of the former Empire, and therefore there is no room for a *Tiglath-Pileser*, or a *Ninus Junior*, distinct from him, to reign in *Affyria* during his time, but it must necessarily be one and the same Person, that was signified by all these different names.

Pekah by this Conquest, which the *Affyrians* made upon him, being stripped of so large a part of his Kingdom, was hereby brought lower than he had afore brought King *Abaz*. For he had now scarce any thing left, but the City of *Samaria*, and the Territories of the Tribe of *Ephraim* and the half Tribe of *Manasseh* only, which bringing him into contempt with his People, as well as raising their indignation against him (as is most an end the case of Unfortunate Princes) *Hoshea* the Son of *Elah* (r) rose up against him, and slew him, after he had reigned in *Samaria* twenty Years. And hereby was fully accomplished that Prophecy (s) of *Isaiah* concerning him, which is above related. After this the Elders of the Land seem to have taken the Government into their Hands. For *Hoshea* had not the Kingdom till nine years after, that is towards the end of the twelfth Year of *Abaz*.

In the fourteenth year of *Abaz* dyed *Tiglath-Pileser* King of *Affyria* after he had reigned (t) nineteen years, and *Salmaneser* his Son (who in (u) *Tobit* is called *Enemessar*, and in (w) *Hosea Shalmon*) reigned in his stead. And as soon as he was settled in the Throne, he came into *Syria* and *Palestine*, and there (x) subjected *Samaria* to his Dominion, making *Hoshea* the King thereof to become his Vassal, and pay Tribute unto him. In this Expedition among other prey, which he took and

An. 729.
Ahaz 14.

(q) Lib. 2. (r) 2 Kings xv. 30. (s) Isa. vii. 16. (t) Castor apud Euseb. Chron. p. 46. (u) Chap. i. 2. (w) Chap. x. 14. (x) 2 Kings xvii.

carried away with him, (y) was the *Golden Calf*, which *Jeroboam* had set up in *Bethel*, and had been there ever since his time worshipped by the ten Tribes of *Israel*, that Revolted with him from the House of *David*. The other *Golden Calf*, which was at the same time set up by him in *Dan*, (y) had been taken thence about ten years before by *Tiglath-Pileser*, in the Invasion which he then made upon *Galilee*, in which Province that City stood. And therefore the Apostate *Israelites* being now deprived of the Idols, which they had so long worshipped, began again to return to the Lord their God, and to go up to *Jerusalem* there to worship before him, and *Hoshea* encouraged them herein. For whereas (a) the Kings of *Israel* had hitherto maintained Guards upon the Frontiers to hinder all under their Subjection from going up to *Jerusalem* to worship there, *Hoshea* took away those Guards, and gave free Liberty to all to worship the Lord their God, according to his Laws, in that place which he had chosen; and therefore when *Hezekiah* invited all *Israel*, that is all those of the ten revolted Tribes, as well as the other two, to come up to his Passover, *Hoshea* hindred them not, (b) but permitted all that would to go up thereto. And when those of his Subjects, who were at that Festival, did on their return, out of their zeal for the true worship of their God, (c) break in pieces the Images, cut down the Groves, demolish the high places, and absolutely destroyed all other Monuments of Idolatry throughout the whole Kingdom of *Samaria*, as will be hereafter related, *Hoshea* forbade them not, but in all likelihood gave his consent to it, and concurred with them herein. For he being King, without his encouraging of it, and giving his Authority for it, it could not have been done. And therefore he hath as to Religion the best Character given him in Scripture of all that reigned before him over

(y) Seder Olam Rabba, c. xxii.

(a) Seder Olam Rabba, ibid.

(b) 2 Chron. xxx. 10, 18.

(c) 2 Chron. xxxi. 1.

Israel, from the Division of the Kingdom. For although he were not perfect in the true worship of God, and therefore it is said of him, (cc) That *he did evil in the sight of the Lord*, yet it is subjoined in the next words, *but not so, as the Kings of Israel, which were before him*. By which it appears, that his ways were less offensive to God than were the ways of any of those that had reigned before him in that Kingdom. However still he was far from being perfectly righteous, which this alone sufficiently proves, that he treacherously slew his Master to reign in his stead.

Abaz in the 16th Year of his Reign being smitten of God for his iniquities (d) died in the thirty sixth year of his age, and was buried in the City of *David*, but not with a Royal burial in the Sepulchres of the Kings. For from this Honour he was excluded, because of his wicked Reign; as were *Jehoram* and *Joash* before him, and *Manasseh* and *Ammon* after him, for the same reason; it being the usage of the *Jews* to lay this mark of infamy upon those that reigned wickedly over them.

An. 727. *Ahaz*
16. *Hezek.* 1.

After *Abaz* reigned (e) *Hezekiah* his Son, a very worthy and religious Prince. He had in the last year of his Father's reign been admitted a Partner with him in the Kingdom, while he was languishing (as it may be supposed) under the sickness of which he died. However as long as his Father lived he could make no alteration in that evil course of Affairs, which he had put both Church and State into. But as soon as he was dead, and *Hezekiah* had the whole power in his hands, he immediately set himself with all his might to work a thorough Reformation in both.

The first thing which he did, was to open the House of God, which his Father had impiously shut up, and restore the

An. 726.
Hezek. 2.

(cc) 2 Chron. xxvii. 2. (d) 2 Kings xvi. 20. 2 Chron. xxviii. 27.
(e) 2 Kings xviii. 2 Chron. xxix.

true worship therein; in order whereto he called the Priests and Levites together out of all parts of the Land to attend their Duty in the Temple, ordering them to remove his Father's new Altar, and to restore the Altar of the Lord to its place again, and purge the Temple of all other Pollutions, with which it had been prophaned during the reign of his Father. But it not being till the end of the former year that *Abaz* died, the beginning of the first Month of the ensuing year (which is called *Nisan*, and corresponds partly with *March* and partly with *April* in our Kalendar) was the soonest that they could be employed in this Work, so that it not being compleated till the 16th day of that month, the Passover could not be kept that year in its Regular time, which ought to have been begun on the 14th day of the said Month of *Nisan*.

However the House of the Lord being now sanctified, and made fit for the service of God, *Hezekiah* went up thither on the 17th day of that month with the Rulers and great Men of his Kingdom, where the People being gathered together he offered Sin-Offerings for the Kingdom, and the Sanctuary, and for *Judah*, to make attonement to God for them, and for all *Israel*, and after that he offered Peace-Offerings, and in all other particulars restored the service of God in the same manner as it had been performed in the purest times, that had been before him, and there was great joy among all the good People of the Land thereon.

And seeing the Passover could not be kept on the Regular time this year, because neither the Temple, nor the Priests, nor the People were sanctified in order hereto, and in this case (f) the Law of *Moses* allowed a second Passover to be kept from the 14th Day of the second Month, King *Hezekiah*, having taken Counsel hereon with the chief Priests, and his Princes, and all the Congregation in *Jerusalem*, (g) de-

(f) Numb. ix. 10, 11.

(g) 2 Chron. xxx.

creed, that this second Passover should be kept by all the Congregation of *Israel* instead of the first, and accordingly he sent Messengers to carry notice hereof not only through all *Judah*, but also through all the other Tribes of *Israel*, and to invite all that were of *Israel* to come to it. And accordingly on the day appointed there was at *Jerusalem* a very great concourse of People from all parts met together to solemnize the holy Festival, and that as well from those Tribes that had separated from the House of *David*, as from those who had stuck to it. For although many of *Ephraim*, and *Manasseh*, and the rest of those Tribes laughed at *Hezekiah's* Messengers, when they invited them to this solemnity, because of the impious contempt which through long disusage they had contracted of it, yet a great multitude even from those parts came to it, and very religiously joined in the observance of it, whereby it became the greatest Passover, that had been solemnized at *Jerusalem* since the days of King *Solomon*. And because they had long neglected the observing of this solemn Festival, to make some amends for it they now doubled the time of its continuance. For whereas the Law directs it to be observed only seven days, they kept it fourteen with much joy and gladness of heart; and resolving from thenceforth to serve the God of *Israel* only, as soon as the solemnity was ended they went out into all the Coasts of *Judah* and *Benjamin*, and brake the Images in pieces, and cut down the Groves, and threw down the high Places, and the Altars, and absolutely destroyed all the monuments of Idolatry, which were any where to be found, either in *Jerusalem*, *Judea*, or any of the Coasts belonging thereto. And those of the other Tribes on their return home did the same in all the rest of *Israel*; so that the true worship of God was again universally restored throughout all the Land; and they might have received a blessing proportionable hereto, had they with the same zeal persisted in it.

And

And the Brazen-Serpent, which *Moses* had set up in the Wilderness, having been by many in the preceding times of iniquity made the object of Idolatrous Worship, (*b*) *Hezekiah* caused this also to be destroyed, whereas otherwise it might have served, as well as the Pot of *Mannab* and *Aaron's* Rod, to have been a monument of the miraculous Mercy of God shewn to his people on their coming out of *Egypt*, and for this reason it seems to have been so long preserved.

But notwithstanding it is thus positively said in the Holy Scripture, that the Brazen-Serpent was destroyed by *Hezekiah* in the manner as I have related, yet the impudence of the *Romanists* is such, (*i*) that in the Church of *St. Ambrose* at *Milan* they now keep and shew to their Devoto's a Brazen-Serpent, which they pretend to be the very same that *Moses* did set up in the Wilderness, and upon this belief an Idolatrous devotion is there paid to it as gross as was that of the *Jews*, for which *Hezekiah* caused it to be destroyed. But it must not be denied, that among their learned men there are those who acknowledge the Cheat, and disclaim it.

About the beginning of the Reign of *Hezekiah* (*k*) *Sabacon* the *Ethiopian* having invaded *Egypt*, and taken *Boccharis* the King of that Country prisoner, caused him with great cruelty to be burnt alive, and then seizing his Kingdom reigned there in his stead. This is the same, who in Scripture is called (*l*) *So*. And he having thus settled himself in *Egypt*, and after some time grown very potent there, *Hoshea* King of *Samaria* entered into confederacy with him, hoping by his assistance to shake off the Yoke of *Affyria*, and in confidence hereof he withdrew his Subjection from *Salmaneser*, and would pay him no more Tribute, nor bring any more presents unto him, as

(*b*) 2 Kings xviii. 4. (i) Vid. Sigonii Historiam de Regno Italiae lib. 7. Torniiellum in Annalibus sub A. M. 3315. Tom. 2. p. 105. Buxtorfii Historiam serpentis aenei, cap. 6, &c. (*k*) Herodotus lib. 2. Africanus apud Syncellum, p. 74. Eusebius in Chronico. (*l*) 2 Kings xvii. 4.

he had formerly used every year to do. Whereon (m) *Salmaneser* in the beginning of the fourth year of *Hezekiah* marched with an army against him, and having subdued all the Country round pent him up in *Samaria*, and there besieged him three years, at the end of which he took the City, and thereon putting *Hoshea* in Chains he shut him up in prison all his days, and carried the People into Captivity, placing them in *Halab*, and in *Habor*, and in the other Cities of the *Medes*, where *Tiglath-Pileser* had afore placed those whom he had carried into Captivity out of the same Land.

Anno 724.

Hezek. 4.

Anno 721.

Hezek. 7.

In this Captivity (n) *Tobit* being taken out of his City of *Thisbe* in the Tribe of *Neptali*, was with *Anna* his Wife and *Tobias* his Son carried into *Affyria*, where he became Purveyor to King *Salmaneser*. But the rest of his Brethren were carried into *Media*, as is abovesaid, and planted there, as particularly were *Gabael* in *Rages*, and *Raguel* in *Ecbatana*, which proves *Media* to have been still under the King of *Affyria*, and that there was no King in *Media* in those days distinct from the King of *Affyria*.

There is in the 15th and 16th Chapters of *Isaiah* a very terrible Prophecy against *Moab*, bearing date in the first year of *Hezekiah*, wherein it was foretold, that within three years *Arne* and *Kir-Harasheth*, the two principal Cities of that Country, should be destroyed, and all the rest of it brought to contempt, ruin and desolation, which must have been executed the same year that *Samaria* was first besieged. It seemeth most likely that *Salmaneser* to secure himself from any disturbance on that side first invaded *Moab*, and having destroyed these two Cities brought all the rest of that Country under his Subjection, and placed Garrisons therein sufficient to put a stop to all Incursions of the *Arabs*, which might that way be made upon him, before he would begin that Siege.

(m) 2 Kings xviii.

(n) Tobit, chap. i.

For otherwise he could not have been able to carry it on with success.

In the same year that *Samaria* was taken, (o) *Mardoc-Empadus* begun his reign at *Babylon*. He was the Son of *Belesis* or *Baladan* or *Nabonassar* (for by all these Names he was called) and was the same (p) who in Scripture is called *Merodach Baladan* the Son of *Baladan*. But after the death of his Father several other Princes had succeeded in *Babylon* before the Crown came to him. For (q) *Nabonassar* dying when he had sat in the Throne fourteen years, after him reigned *Nadius* two years, and after him *Chinzerus* and *Porus* jointly five years, and then after them *Jugæus* five years. But of these there being nothing on record besides their names in the Canon of *Ptolemy*, we have not hitherto taken any notice of them. After *Jugæus* succeeded *Mardoc-Empadus* in the 27th year after the beginning of his Father's Kingdom in *Babylon*, and reigned twelve years.

While *Salmaneser* was engaged in the Siege of *Samaria*, *Hezekiah* took the opportunity of recovering what had been lost from his Kingdom in the Reign of his Father. And therefore (r) making war upon the *Philistins* he not only regained all the Cities of *Judah*, which they had seized during the time that *Pekab* and *Rezin* distressed the Land, but also dispossessed them of almost all their own Country, except *Gaza* and *Gath*.

As soon as the Siege of *Samaria* was over, *Salmaneser* sent to *Hezekiah* to demand the Tribute, which *Abaz* had agreed to pay for the Kingdom of *Judæa*, in the time of *Tiglab-Pileser* his Father, but (s) *Hezekiah* trusting in the Lord his God would not hearken unto him, neither did he pay him any Tribute, or send any presents unto him, which would immediately have brought *Sal-*

(o) Canon. Ptolemæi.
Hezek. 8.

(p) Isa. xxxix. 1.

(q) Canon. Pto-

lemæi. (r) 2 Kings xviii. 8. Josephus Antiq. lib. 9. c. 13.

(s) 2 Kings xviii. 7.

maneser upon him with all his Power, but that he was diverted by another war.

For (1) *Eluleus* King of *Tyre* seeing the *Philistines* brought low, by the war which *Hezekiah* had lately made upon them, laid hold of the opportunity of reducing *Gath* again under his obedience, which had some time before revolted from him. Whereon the *Gittites* applying themselves to *Salmaneser* engaged him in their cause, so that he marched with his whole army against the *Tyrians*. Whereon *Sidon*, *Ace* (afterwards called *Ptolemais* and now *Acon*) and the other maritim Towns of *Phœnicia*, which had till then been subject to the *Tyrians*, revolted from them, and submitted to *Salmaneser*. But the *Tyrians* having in a sea fight with twelve ships only beaten the *Assyrian* and *Phœnician* fleets both joyned together, which consisted of sixty ships, this gave them such a reputation in naval Affairs, and made their name so terrible in this sort of war, that *Salmaneser* would not venture to cope with them any more at sea, but turning the war into a Siege left an army to block up the City, and returned into *Assyria*. The Forces which he left there much distressed the place by stopping the Aquæducts, and cutting off all the conveyances of water to them. To relieve themselves in this exigency they digged wells, from whence they drew up the water, and by the help of them held out five years, at the end of which *Salmaneser* dying, this delivered them for that time. But they being over-puffed up with this success, and growing very insolent hereon, this provoked that Prophecy against them in the 23d Chapter of *Isaiah*, which foretold the miserable overthrow that should afterwards happen unto them, and was accordingly effected by *Nebuchadnezzar* King of *Babylon*, as will hereafter be shewn.

An. 715.
Hezek. 13.

In the ninth year of *Hezekiah* dyed *Sabacou* or *So*

(1) *Annales Menandri apud Josephum Antiq. lib. 9. c. 14. & contra Apionem lib. 1.*

King of *Egypt*, after he had reigned in that Country (u) eight years, and (x) *Sevechus* his son, whom (x) *Herodotus* calleth *Setbon*, reigned in his stead.

Salmaneser King of *Affyria* being dead An. 714. Hezek. 14. after he had reigned fourteen years, *Sennacherib* (y) his son succeeded him in the Kingdom, and reigned about eight Years. He is the same whom the Prophet *Isaiah* (c. xx. 1.) calleth *Sargon*. As soon as he was settled in the Throne, he renewed the demand which his Father had made upon *Hezekiah*, for the Tribute which *Abaz* had agreed to pay in the reign of *Tiglath-Pileser* his Grandfather, and (z) on his refusal to comply with him herein denounced war against him, and marched with a great Army into *Judaea* to fall upon him. This was in the fourteenth year of the Reign of King *Hezekiah*.

In this same year (a) *Hezekiah* falling sick of the pestilence had a Message from God by the Prophet *Isaiah* to set his House in order, and prepare for death. But on his hearty prayer to God he obtained another Message from him by the same Prophet, which promised him life for fifteen years longer, and also deliverance from the *Affyrians*, who were then coming against him; and to give him thorough assurance hereof by a miraculous Sign, God did at his request make the Sun go backward ten Degrees upon the Sun-Dial of *Abaz*. And accordingly a lump of figs having been by the Prophet's direction made into a Plaister, and laid to the Pestilential boil, he recovered within three days, and went up to the House of God to return thanks unto him for so wonderful a deliverance.

An. 713. Hezek. 15. *Merodach Baladan* King of *Babylon* (the same who in *Ptolemy's* Canon is called *Mar-dac-Empadus*) hearing of this miraculous re-

(u) *Africanus* apud *Syncellum* p. 74. (w) *Africanus* *ibid*.
 (x) *lib.* 2. (y) *Tobit* i. 15. (z) 2 *Kings* xviii. 2 *Chron.* xxxii.
Isaiah xxxvi. (a) 2 *Kings* xx. 2 *Chron.* xxxii. 24. *Isaiah* xxxviii.

cóvery, (b) sent Ambassadors unto him to congratulate him hereon, which *Hezekiah* was much pleased with. Their coming on this occasion seemeth principally to have been for two reasons. The first, to enquire about the miracle of the Sun's retrogradation (for the *Chaldeans* being above all other Nations then given to the study of Astronomy were very curious in their Inquiries after such matters.) And the other, to enter into an Alliance with him against *Sennacherib*, whose growing power the *Babylonians* had reason to fear, as well as the *Jews*. And to make the *Babylonians* put the greater value upon his alliance on this account, seems to be the reason that *Hezekiah* shewed those Ambassadors from them all the riches of his House, his Treasures, his Armory, and all his stores, and strength for War. But by this he having expressed the vanity and pride of his mind, God sent him by the Prophet *Isaiah* a rebuking Message for it, and also a Prophecy of what the *Babylonians* should afterwards do unto his family, in order to the humbling that pride, with which his Heart was then elated.

Towards the end of the 14th Year of *Hezekiah's* reign (c) *Sennacherib* came up with a great army against the fenced Cities of *Judah*, and took several of them, and laid Siege to *Lachish*, threatening *Jerusalem* it self next. Whereon *Hezekiah* taking advice of his Princes and Chief Counsellors made all manner of Preparations for its defence, repairing the walls, and making new ones where they were wanting, and fortifying them with Towers, and all other works and buildings necessary for their defence. And he provided also darts and shields in great abundance, and all other Arms and Artillery, which might be any way useful for the defending of the place, and the annoying of the Enemy on their coming against it. And he caused all the people to be enrol'd and

(b) 2 Kings xx. *Isaiah* xxxix.
Isaiah xxxvi.

(c) 2 Kings xx. 2 Chron. xxxii.

marshal'd for the war, that were fit and able for it, placing over them Captains of Experience to instruct them in all Military Exercises, and to conduct and lead them forth against the Enemy, whenever there should be an occasion for it. And he took care also to stop up all the Wells, that were without the Walls of *Jerusalem* for a great compass round the City, and diverted all Brooks and Water-courses from coming that way, thereby to distress the Enemy for want of Water, should they come and set down before that place. And farther, to strengthen himself the more against so potent and formidable an Enemy, he entered into alliance with the King of *Egypt* for their mutual defence. But (d) the Prophet *Isaiah* condemned this Alliance, as carrying with it a distrust in God, telling the *Jews*, that they should confide in him alone for their deliverance, who would himself come down to fight for mount *Zion*, and deliver and preserve *Jerusalem* from the power of the enemy, that was then risen up against it: And that whatsoever trust they should place in *Egypt* should all come to nothing, and be of no benefit to them, but rather turn to their shame, their reproach, and their confusion, and so in the event it accordingly hapned.

However *Sennacherib* being informed of all these preparations, which *Hezekiah* had made for his defence, and perceiving thereby how difficult a work it would be to take so strong a City, when so well appointed and provided for its defence, he became inclined to hearken to Terms of accommodation, and therefore on *Hezekiah*'s sending to treat with him, it was agreed that *Hezekiah* paying unto him (e) three hundred Talents of Silver and thirty Ta-

(d) *Isaiah* xxx, xxxi. (e) An Hebrew Talent according to the Scripture (*Exod.* xxxviii. 25, 26, 27.) containing 3000 Shekels, and every Shekel being 3 shillings of our money, these 300 Talents of Silver must contain of our money one hundred thirty five thousand pound, and the 30 Talents of Gold two hundred and xteen thousand pound. So the whole Sum here paid by *Hezekiah* amounted to three hundred fifty one thousand pound of our money.

lents of Gold for the present, and duly rendring his Tribute for the future, there should be Peace. But when *Sennacherib* had received the money, he had little regard to this agreement, but soon after broke it, and again renewed the war, as will be hereafter shewn. However for the present he gave him some respite and marched against *Egypt*, and the better to open his way into that Country (f) he sent *Tartan* one of his Generals before him to take *Ashdod*, or *Azotus*, from the taking of which place the Prophet *Isaiah* dates the beginning of the war, which *Sennacherib* had with the *Egyptians*, wherein, according as that Prophet (g) had foretold, he much afflicted that people three years together, destroying their Cities, and carrying multitudes of them into Captivity. At that time *Sevechus* the son of *Sabacon* or *So* the *Ethiopian* was King of *Egypt*, whom *Herodotus* (h) calls *Sethon*, and represents him as a Prince of so foolish a conduct, as was most likely to bring such a Calamity upon his Kingdom, whensoever it should be assaulted by an enemy. For affecting the office of a Priest he neglected that of a King, and causing himself to be consecrated chief Pontif of *Vulcan* gave himself wholly up to Superstition; and having no regard to the warlike defence of his Kingdom, he so far neglected and discouraged the Military order, which were there maintained for it, that he took from them their Tenures, which in the time of the former Kings his Predecessors had been allowed them for their support, which gave them such a just cause of offence and indignation against him that when he had need for their valour on this occasion, they would not fight for him, whereon he was forced to raise an Army of such raw and inexperienced men as he could get out of the Shopkeepers, Tradesmen, Labourers, and such like People, which being wholly unable to cope with such an Army of veterans, as

(f) *Isaiah* xx. 1. (g) *Isaiah* xx. 3, 4. *Josephus* *Antiq.* lib. 19. c. 1, 2. (h) *Herod.* lib. 2.

Sennacherib brought against them, he did with great ease over-run the Country, and work what devastation in it he pleased. And at this time seems to have been brought upon *No-Amon*, a famous City in *Egypt*, that destruction, which the Prophet *Nabum* speaks of (*Chap. iii. 10.*) where he tells us, that her Inhabitants were carry'd into Captivity, her young children dash'd in pieces in the top of her streets, and her great men divided by lot among the Conquerors, and put into Chains to be led away as Slaves and Captives. All which he tells us hapned while *Egypt* and *Ethiopia* were her strength, which plainly points out unto us this time, when an *Ethiopian* Prince reigned over *Egypt*. For *Sabacou* or *So* the Father of *Sevechus* was an *Ethiopian*, who made himself King of *Egypt* by Conquest, and therefore during his and his Son's reign *Egypt* and *Ethiopia* were as one Country, and they mutually helped each other, an instance whereof will not be wanting in this War.

No-Amon in *Egypt* was (i) the same with *Thebes*, famous for its hundred Gates, and vast number of Inhabitants. The *Greeks* called it *Diospolis*, or the City of *Jupiter*, because of a famous Temple there built to *Jupiter*. And for the same reason was it called *No-Amon* by the *Egyptians*. For *Amon* was the name of *Jupiter* among that People.

It is to be observed that the destruction of *No-Amon* mentioned in *Nabum* must have been some time before that of *Niniveh*. For the former is Historically related by him as past, and the other only prophetically foretold as to come. And therefore *Niniveh* having been destroyed in the 29th year of *Josiab*, as will hereafter be shewn, this destruction of *No-Amon* must have been long before, and in no time more likely than when *Sennacherib* made this war upon *Egypt*, and harrassed it from one end to the other for three Years together. They who re-

(i) Vide Bochart. Phaleg. Part 1. Lib. 1. c. 1.

fer this destruction of *No-Amon* spoken of by *Nabum* to the Invasion of *Nebuchadnezzar*, place it after the destruction of *Niniveh*, and thereby make one part of the Text inconsistent with the other.

But *Sennacherib* did not end this war with the same Success as he begun it. For (k) having laid siege to *Pelufium*, and spent much time in it, he was at length forced to break up from thence, and retreat out of *Egypt*, because of *Tirhakah*

King of *Ethiopia*. For he being come in-
to *Egypt* with a great Army to help *Se-*

Anno 710.

Hezek. 18.

vechus his Kinsman was on a full march towards *Pelufium* to relieve the place, which *Sennacherib* hearing of durst not abide his coming, but raised the siege, and returning into *Judea* encamped again (l) at *Lachish*, where he renewed the war with *Hezekiah* notwithstanding the agreement of Peace which he had afore made with him, and to let him know as much he sent *Tartan*, *Rabsaris*, and *Rabshakeh*, three of his principal Captains, with that proud and blasphemous message, which we have at full recited (m) in two places of the Holy Scripture. It was delivered to the King's Officers from under the Walls of *Jerusalem* in the hearing of all the People, and in the *Hebrew* tongue. For they hoped thereby to draw the people to a Revolt, but they failing of success herein returned to *Sennacherib* without their design. The person appointed to deliver this Message was *Rabshakeh*, who by his ready speaking of the *Hebrew* tongue seems to have been an Apostate Jew, or else one of the Captivity of *Israel*. By Office he was the King's chief cup-bearer, as his name imports. On their return they found *Sennacherib* decamped from *Lachish*, and laying siege at *Libnah*, where hearing that *Tirhakah* on his finding him gone from *Pelufium* was marching after him, as in pursuit

(k) Josephus Antiq. lib. 10. c. 1.

(l) 2 Kings xviii. 17, 18, &c.

2 Chron. xxxiii. 9, 10, &c. Isaiah xxxvi.

(m) 2 Kings xviii. 19,

20, &c. Isaiah xxxvi. 4, 5, &c.

of one flying from him, he led forth his army against him, and gave him a great overthrow. For it was (n) from God by the Prophet *Isaiah* afore laid as a burden upon *Egypt*, and as a burden upon *Ethiopia*, thus to be punished by him, and he was no more than as God's Executioner herein. But before (o) he went forth to this last war he sent again to *Hezekiah*, adding a most blasphemous letter to his former Message, defying therein both him, and also the Lord his God in a most impious manner, which justly provoked the wrath of God against him to that degree, as brought a most dismal destruction upon him to the cutting off of almost all his army. For when swelling with his fresh victory over the *Ethiopians* he was on his full march towards *Jerusalem* with thorough purpose utterly to destroy that place and all in it, an Angel of the Lord went forth, and in one night smote in the Camp of the *Assyrians* an hundred fourscore and five thousand men, so that when he arose in the morning he found almost all his Army dead Corps, with which being terrify'd he fled out of *Judea* in great confusion, and made all the haste he could back again to *Niniveh*, where he dwelt all the remainder of his Life in dishonour, shame, and regret. This hapned in 18th year of King *Hezekiah*, and four years after *Sennacherib* first came into those parts. After this *Hezekiah* reigned the rest of his time in great peace and prosperity, being feared and honoured by all the Nations round him, by reason of the favour which they saw he had with the Lord his God, in the great and wonderful deliverance which he had vouchsafed unto him. So that none of them after this would any more lift up their hand against him.

The *Babylonish Talmud* hath it, that this destruction upon the Army of the *Assyrians* was executed by lightning, and some of the *Targums* are quoted for

(n) *Isaiah* xviii. and xx.
xxxii.

(o) *Isaiah* xxxvii. 2 Kings xix. 2 Chron.

saying the same thing. But it seemeth most likely, that it was effected by bringing on them the hot wind, which (p) is frequent in those parts, and often, when it lights among a multitude, destroys great numbers of them in a moment, as it frequently happens in those vast Caravans of the *Mahometans*, who go their annual Pilgrimages to *Mecca*. And the words of (q) *Isaiab* which threatned *Sennacherib* with a blast, that God would send upon him, seem to denote this thing.

Herodotus (r) gives us from the relation of the *Egyptian* Priests some kind of a disguised account of this deliverance from the *Affyrians*, in a fabulous application of it to the City of *Pelusium*, instead of *Jerusalem*, and to *Sethon* the *Egyptian* King instead of *Hezekiah*. By whose piety he saith it was obtained, that while the King of *Affyria* laid siege to *Pelusium*, a great number of Rats were miraculously sent into his army, which in one night did eat all their Shieldstraps, Quivers, and Bowstrings, so that on their rising the next morning finding themselves without arms for the carrying on of the war they were forced to raise the Siege and be gone. And it is particularly to be remarked that *Herodotus* calls the King of *Affyria*, to whom he saith this happened, by the same name of *Sennacherib*, as the Scriptures do, and the time in both doth also well agree, which plainly shews, that it is the same fact, that is referred to by *Herodotus*, although much disguised in the Relation, which may easily be accounted for, when we consider, that it comes to us through the hands of such, as had the greatest aversion both to the Nation and Religion of the *Jews*, and therefore would relate nothing in such manner, as might give any reputation to either.

(p) *Thevenot's Travels*, Part 2. Book 1. c. 20. & P. 2. B. 2. c. 16. & P. 1. B. 2. c. 20. This wind is by the Prophet *Jeremiah* c. li. 1. called a destroying wind, where the Arabic version renders it, An hot Pestilential wind. (q) *Isaiab* xxxvii. 7. 2 Kings xix. 7. (r) *Lib.* 2.

After this terrible blow, and the loss of
Anno 709. so great an Army, *Sennacherib* was so weak-
Hezek. 12. ned, that he had no way of again recover-
 ing himself; which making him to fall into con-
 tempt among his Subjects, several of his Provinces re-
 volted from him, and particularly *Media*, which was
 the largest and the most considerable of all his Em-
 pire. For the *Medes*, when they heard in how low
 a condition he was returned to *Niniveh*, immediately
 shook off his Yoke, and set (s) up for themselves in
 a sort of Democratical Government; but soon grow-
 ing sick of the Confusions which this caused among
 them, they were forced to have recourse to Monar-
 chy for the remedy, and the next year after chose
Deioces for their King, whom they had formerly
 made great use of, as a common Arbitrator of their
 differences, and for the great proof which he had
 given of his Justice and abilities on such occasions,
 they advanced him to this dignity. He began his
 reign in the 19th year of King *Hezekiah*, and having
 repaired, beautified and enlarged the City of *Ecba-
 tana*, he made it the Royal Seat of his Kingdom, and
 reigned there with great wisdom, honour and pro-
 sperity fifty three years, during which time it grow-
 ing to be a great City, he is for this reason reckoned
 by the *Greeks* to have been the Founder of it.

The same year (t) *Arkianus* began his reign at *Ba-
 bylon* after the decease of *Mardoc-Empadus*, or *Mero-
 dach-Baladan*, who ended his life with the former
 year, after having reigned over the *Babylonians* twelve
 Years.

Sennacherib after his return to *Niniveh* being in-
 flamed with rage for his great loss and disappoint-
 ment, as if he would revenge himself upon his Sub-
 jects for it, grew thenceforth (u) very Cruel and Ty-
 rannical in the management of his Government, espe-
 cially towards the *Jews* and *Israelites*, abundance of
 which he caused every day to be slain and cast into

(s) Herodotus, Lib. 1.

(t) Can. Ptol.

(u) Tobit i. 18.

the streets; by which savage humour having made himself so intolerable, that he could be no longer born by his own family, his two eldest Sons (w) *Adramelech* and *Sharezar* conspired against him, and falling upon him, while he was worshipping in the House of *Nisroch* his God, they there slew him with the Sword, and thereon having made their escape into the Land of *Armenia*, *Efarbaddon* his third Son reigned in his stead. Some Commentators (x) will have it, that he had vowed to sacrifice these his two Sons to appease his Gods, and make them the more favourable to him for the Restoration of his affairs, and that it was to prevent this, that they thus sacrificed him. But for this there is no other foundation, but that scarce any Thing else can be thought of, which can afford any excuse for so wicked and barbarous a Parricide.

Efarbaddon begun his reign over *Affyria*, about the twenty second year of King *Hezekiah*, which was the last of the Reign of *Sevechus*, or *Sethon*, in the Kingdom of *Egypt*, who dying after he had reigned fourteen years (y) was succeeded by *Tirbakah*, the same who came with the *Ethiopian* Army to his help. He was the third and last of that race, that reigned in *Egypt*.

Anno 706.
Hezek. 22.

In the 23d year of *Hezekiah*, *Arkianus* dying without Issue, there followed an (z) interregnum of two Years in the Kingdom of *Babylon*, before they could agree upon a Successor. At length (z) *Belibus* being advanced to the Throne sat in it three years. After him succeeded (z) *Apronadius*, and reigned six years.

Anno 705.
Hezek. 23.

The same year that *Apronadius* began his Reign at *Babylon*, *Hezekiah* ended his at *Jerusalem*.

For (a) he died there after he had reigned twenty and nine years, and all *Judah* and

Anno 699.
Hezek. 29.

(w) 2 Kings xix. 37. 2 Chron. xxxii. 21. Isaiah xxxviii. 38.

(x) Bishop Patrick on the 2d of Kings, c. 19. v. 37. Sallianus sub Anno ante Christum 729.

(y) Africanus apud Syncellum, p. 74.

(z) Ptol. Can.

(a) 2 Kings xx. 21. 2 Chron. xxxii. 33.

Jerusalem did him honour at his Death. For they buried him with great solemnity in the chiefest and highest place of the sepulchres of the sons of *David*, expressing thereby that they looked on him, as the worthiest and best of all, that had reigned over them of that family since him, that was the first founder of it.

The burial-place called the Sepulchres of the Kings of the house of *David* (which hath been afore spoken of) was a very sumptuous and stately thing (b). It lies now without the walls of *Jerusalem*, but as it is supposed, was formerly (c) within them before that City was destroyed by the *Romans*. It consists of a large court of about 120 foot square, with a gallery or cloyster on the left hand, which court and gallery with the pillars that supported it were cut out of the solid marble rock. At the end of the Gallery there is a narrow passage or hole, through which there is an entrance into a large room or hall of about twenty four foot square, within which are several lesser rooms one within another with stone-doors opening into them, all which rooms with the great room were all likewise cut out of the solid marble rock. In the sides of those lesser rooms are several niches, in which the corps of the deceased Kings were deposited in stone coffins. In the innermost or chiefest of these rooms was the body of *Hezekiah* laid in a nich perchance cut of purpose at that time for it in the upper end of that room, to do him the greater honour. And all this remains entire even to this day. It seems to have been the work of King *Solomon*, for it could not have been made without vast expence, and it is the only true

(b) *Thevenot's Travels*, Part 1. Book 2. c. 40. *Maundrell's Journey from Aleppo to Jerusalem*, p. 76. (c) *Maimonides in his Treatise Beth Habbechirah*, c. 7. saith, In *Jerusalem* they do not allow a Sepulchre, except the Sepulchres of the House of *David*, and the Sepulchre of *Huldah* the Prophetess, which were there from the days of the former Prophets. This proves these Sepulchres to have been within the walls of *Jerusalem*, and that the words of Scripture, which place them in the City of *David*, are strictly to be understood.

remainder of old *Jerusalem*, which is now to be seen in that place.

Hezekiah during his reign much improved the city of *Jerusalem*, not only by (1) new fortifying of it, erecting magazines therein, and filling them with all manner of armory, which were of use in those days; but also by building (2) a new Aquæduct, which was of great convenience to the inhabitants for the supplying of them with water. And for (3) the better promoting of Religion he maintained skilful Scribes to collate together and write out copies of the holy Scripture, and it is particularly mentioned that the Proverbs of *Solomon* were thus collected together, and wrote out by those men.

And in his time the (4) *Simeonites* being streightned in their habitations much enlarged their borders towards the south. For falling on the *Amalekites*, who dwelt in part of *Mount Seir* and in the rich valley adjoining, they smote them, and utterly destroyed them, and dwelt in their rooms.

But it was the misfortune of this good King *Hezekiah* to be succeeded by a son, who was the wickedest and worst of the whole race. For after him reigned (d) *Manasseh*, who being a minor only of 12 years old at his coming to the crown, had the misfortune to fall into the hands of such of the Nobility for his guardians and chief ministers, who being ill-affected to his father's reformation took care to breed him up in the greatest aversion to it that they were able, corrupting his youth with the worst of principles, both as to religion and government, so that when he grew up, he proved the most impious towards God, and most tyrannical and wicked towards his Subjects of any that ever reigned either in *Jerusalem* or *Samaria* over the Tribes of *Is-*

Anno 698.
Manass. 1.

(1) 2 Chron. xxxii. 5. Ecclesiasticus xlviii. 17. (2) 2 Kings xx. 20. 2 Chron. xxxii. 30. Ecclesiasticus xlviii. 17. (3) Prov. xxv. 1. (4) 1 Chron. iv. 39—43. (d) 2 Kings xxi. 2 Chron. xxxiii.

rael. For he not only restored all the Idolatry of *Abaz*, but went much beyond him in every abomination, whereby the true worship of God might be suppress'd, and his most holy name dishonoured in the Land. For whereas *Abaz* did only shut up the House of God, he converted it into an House of all manner of Idolatrous Prophanations, setting up an Image in the Sanctuary, and erecting Altars for *Baalim*, and all the Host of Heaven, in both its Courts. And he also practised Witchcrafts, and Enchantments, and dealt with familiar Spirits, and made his children pass through the Fire to *Molech*, and filled *Judah* and *Jerusalem* with his High-places, Idols, Groves, and Altars erected to false Gods, and brought in all manner of other Idolatrous Prophanations, whereby the true Religion might be most corrupted, and all manner of impiety be most promoted in the Kingdom. And to all these ways of abomination he made *Judah* and *Jerusalem* to conform, raising a terrible Persecution against all that would not comply with him herein, whereby he filled the whole Land with Innocent blood, of which he did shed very much in the carrying on of these and his other wicked purposes. And when God sent his Prophets to him to tell him of these Iniquities, and to exhort him to depart from them, he treated them with contempt and outrage, and (e) several of them he put to death. And particularly it is said, that *Isaiab* the Prophet on this account suffered Martyrdom under him, by being cruelly sawn asunder. This was (f) an old Tradition among the *Jews*, and the Holy Apostle *St. Paul* in his Epistle to the *Hebrews* (c. xi. v. 37.) having among the Torments undergone by the Prophets, and Martyrs of foregoing times, reckoned that

(e) Josephus Antiq. lib. 10. c. 4. (f) Talmud. Hierosol. in Sanhedrin, fol. 28. col. 3. Talmud Babylon in Jevammoth, fol. 49. col. 2. & in Sanhedrin, fol. 103. col. 2. Shalsheleth Hakkabalah, fol. 19. col. 1. Yalkut lib. Regum, fol. 38. col. 4.

of being sawn afunder, he (g) is generally thought in that place to have had respect hereto. By which horrid Iniquities and Abominations God was so justly incensed against the Land, that he declared hereon, (b) that he would stretch out over *Jerusalem* the line of *Samaria*, and the plummet of the House of *Ahab*, and wipe *Jerusalem* clean of all its Inhabitants as a Man wipeth a Dish and turneth it, when empty, upside down. Which accordingly was executed upon it in the Destruction of that City, and the Desolation which was brought upon all *Judah* at the same time. And among all the iniquities, that drew down these heavy Judgments upon that City and Land, the Sins of *Manasseh* are always reckoned as (i) the most provoking cause; by which an estimate may be best made of the greatness of them.

In the 5th Year of *Manasseh* dyed (k) *Anno 694.*
Apronadius King of *Babylon*, and was suc- *Manasseh 5.*
 ceeded by (k) *Regibilus*, who reigned only one Year.
 After him (k) *Mesessimordacus* had the Kingdom and
 held it four Years.

In the 11th year of *Manasseh* (l) dyed *Anno 638.*
Tirbakah King of *Egypt*, after he had *Manasseh 11.*
 reigned there 18 years, who was the last of the *E-*
thiopian Kings that reigned in that Country. The
Egyptians after his death not being able to agree a-
 bout the Succession continued for (m) two years to-
 gether in a state of Anarchy, and great confusion,
 till (n) at length twelve of the Principal Nobility
 conspiring together seized the Kingdom, and dividing
 it among themselves into twelve parts governed it by
 joynt Confederacy fifteen years.

The same Year, that this hapned in *Egypt* by the
 Death of *Tirbakah*, the like hapned in *Babylon* by the
 Death of *Mesessimordacus*. For he leaving no Son be-

(g) Vid. Justin. Martyr. in Dialogo cum Tryphone. Hieronymum in
 Esaiam, c. 26. & 57. Epiphanium & alios. (b) 2 Kings xxi. 13.

(i) 2 Kings xxiii. 26. & xxiv. 3. Jeremiah xv. 4. (k) Can. Ptol.

(l) Africanus apud Syncellum, p. 74. (m) Diodorus Siculus, lib. 1.

(n) Herodotus, lib. 2. Diodorus Siculus, lib. 1.

hind him to inherit the Kingdom, (o) an Interregnum of Anarchy and Confusion followed there for eight years together, of which *Efarbaddon* King of *Assyria* taking the advantage seized *Babylon*, and adding it to his former Empire thenceforth (p) reigned over both for thirteen years. He is in the Canon of *Ptolemy* called *Affar-Addinus*. And in the Scriptures he is spoken of as King (q) of *Babylon* and *Assyria* jointly together. In *Ezra* he is called (r) *Afnapper*, and hath there the honourable Epithets of the great and noble added to his name by the Author of that Book, which argues him to have been a Prince of great excellency and worth in his time, and far exceeding all others, that had reigned before him in either of the Kingdoms.

In the twenty second year of *Manasseh*, *Efarbaddon*, after he had now entered on the fourth Year of his Reign in *Babylon*, and fully settled his authority there, began to set his Thoughts on the recovery of what had been lost to the Empire of the *Assyrians* in *Syria* and *Palestine* on the Destruction of his Father's Army in *Judea*, and on that doleful retreat, which thereon he was forced to make from thence; and being encouraged to this undertaking by the great Augmentation of Strength, which he had acquired by adding *Babylon* and *Chaldea* to his former Kingdom of *Assyria*, he prepared a great Army, and marched into those parts, and again added them to the *Assyrian* Empire. And then was accomplished the Prophecy, which was spoken by *Isaiah* in the first year of *Abaz* against *Samaria*, (s) that within threescore and five years *Ephraim* should

(o) Can. Ptolemæi. (p) Canon. Ptol. (q) He is said as King of *Assyria* to have brought a Colony out of *Babylon* into *Samaria*, 2 Kings xvii. 24. *Ezra* iv. 9, 10. which he could not have done if he had not been King of *Babylon*, as well as of *Assyria* at that time. And in 2 Chron. xxiii. 11. he is said as King of *Assyria* to have taken *Manasseh* Prisoner, and to have carried him to *Babylon*, which argues him at that time to have been King of *Babylon* also. (r) *Ezra* iv. 10. (s) *Isaiah* vii. 8.

be absolutely broken, so as from thenceforth to be no more a People. For this year being exactly sixty five years from the first of *Abaz*, *Efarhaddon*, after he had settled all affairs in *Syria*, marched into the Land of *Israel*, and there taking captive all those, who were the remains of the former captivity (excepting only some few, who escaped his Hands, and continued still in the Land) carried them away into *Babylon* and *Affyria*. And then to prevent the Land from becoming desolate, he brought others from (t) *Babylon*, and from *Cutha*, and from *Avah*, and *Hamath*, and *Sephervaim*, to dwell in the Cities of *Samaria* in their stead. And so the ten Tribes of *Israel*, which had separated from the House of *David*, were brought to a full and utter Destruction, and never after recovered themselves again. For those who were thus carried away, as well in this, as the former Captivities (excepting only some few, who joining themselves to the *Jews* in the Land of their Captivity returned with them) soon going into the usages, and Idolatry of the Nations, among whom they were planted (to which they were too much addicted while in their own Land) after a while became wholly absorb'd, and swallowed up in them, and thence utterly losing their name, their language, and their memorial, were never after any more spoken of. And whereas there is a sect of *Samaritans* still remaining in *Samaria*, *Sichem*, and other Towns thereabout, even to this day, who still have the Law of *Moses* in a Character peculiar to themselves, and in a Dialect very little, if any thing at all, different from that of the *Jews*, yet these are not of the Descendants of the *Israelites*, but of those Nations which *Efarhaddon* brought to dwell in that Country in their stead, after the others had been carried thence into Captivity. And for this reason the *Jews* call them by no other name, than that of *Cuthits* (the name of one of those Nations, whom *Efarhaddon* had planted

(t) 2 Kings xvii. 24. Ezra iv. 2. 10.

there) and have that utter hatred and aversion to them, that reckoning them among the worst of Hereticks they express on all occasions a greater detestation of them, than they do even of the Christians themselves.

Efarbaddon, after he had thus possessed himself of the Land of *Israel*, sent some of his Princes with part of his Army into *Judea* to reduce that Country also under his subjection, who (u) having vanquished *Manasseh* in battle, and taken him hid in a thicket of Thorns, brought him Prisoner to *Efarbaddon*, who bound him in fetters and carried him to *Babylon*, where his chains and his prison having brought him to himself, and a due sense of his great sin, where-with he had sinned against the Lord his God, he returned unto him with repentance and prayer, and in his affliction greatly humbled himself before him; whereon God being entreated of by him, he mollified the Heart of the King of *Babylon* towards him, so that on a Treaty he was again restored to his Liberty, and returned to *Jerusalem*; and then knowing the Lord to be God he abolished all those idolatrous Prophanations both out of the Temple and out of all other parts of the Land, which he had in his wickedness introduced into them, and again restored in all things the Reformation of King *Hezekiah* his Father, and walked according thereto all the remainder of his Life, worshipping the Lord his God only, and none other, and all *Judah* conformed to him herein. So that he continued in Prosperity after this to the end of his Reign, which was the longest of any of the Kings, that had sat on the Throne of *David* either before or after him. For he reigned full fifty five Years, and these being all reckoned to his Reign without any Chasm, it is argued from hence, that his Captivity at *Babylon* could not have been long, but that he was within a very short time after again released from it.

(u) 2 Chron. xxxiii. 11. Josephus Antiq. lib. 10. c. 4.

And to this time may be referred the completion of the Prophecy of *Isaiah* concerning (w) the removal of *Shebna*, the chief Minister of State, and the advancement of *Eliakim* the Son of *Hilkiah* in his place. Both of them had been Ministers of State under King *Hezekiah*, *Shebna* having been his Scribe or Secretary, and *Eliakim* the Master of his Household. And their History, as far as may be collected from the Words of the Prophet, appears to be thus. *Shebna* being a very wicked Man was a fit Person to serve the lusts and evil Inclinations of *Manasseh* in the first part of his Reign, and therefore was made his first Minister of State, and *Eliakim*, who was of a quite contrary Character, was quite laid aside. But on the Revolution, that hapned on the coming of the Army of the *Assyrians*, *Shebna* (x) was taken Prisoner with his Master, and carried to *Babylon*, and there detained in Captivity (y) to his Death. And therefore *Manasseh* on his repentance, and return to *Jerusalem*, having resolved on other measures called for *Eliakim*, and put the Management of all his Affairs into his hands, who being a Person of great Wisdom, Justice and Piety soon re-establish'd them upon the same foot, as they had been in the Days of *Hezekiah*, and so preserved them in Peace and Prosperity all his time, to the great honour of the King, and the good of all his people, and therefore he hath the Character given him of being (z) a Father to the Inhabitants of *Jerusalem*, and to all the House of *Judah*, and that having (a) the Key and Government of the House of *David* upon his Shoulders he was the great support of it all his days. This *Eliakim* is supposed to have been of the Pontifical family, and to have himself in the time of *Manasseh* born the office of High-Priest, and to have been the same, who is mention'd by the name of *Joakim*, or *Eliakim* in the History of *Judith*, as High-Priest at

(w) *Isaiah* xxii. 15 — 25.
xxii. 18. (z) *Isaiah* xxii. 21.

(x) *Isaiah* xxii. 17.
(a) *Isaiah* xxii. 22.

(y) *Isaiah*

that time. For *Joakim* and *Eliakim* are both the same name, being both of the same signification in the *Hebrew* tongue, and therefore the said High-Priest in *Judith* is in the *Syriac* version, and also in *Jerom's* *latin* version of that Book called promiscuously by both these Names. But of this more will be said hereafter in its proper place.

Anno 676.
Manasseh 23.

The Nations, which *Esarbaddon* had brought to dwell in the Cities of *Samaria* instead of the *Israelites*, who had been carried thence, being on their settling in that Country (b) much infested with Lions, and the King of *Babylon* being told, that it was because they worshipped not the God of the Country, he ordered, that one of the Priests, which had been carried thence, should be sent back, to teach these new Inhabitants how to worship the God of *Israel*. But they only took him hereon into the number of their former Deities, and worshipped him jointly with the Gods of the Nations, from whence they came. And in this corruption of joining the worship of their false Gods with that of the true they continued till the building of the *Samaritan* Temple on Mount *Gerizim* by *Sanballat*; but on that occasion abundance of *Jews* falling off to them, they reduced them from this Idolatry to the worship of the true God only, as shall be hereafter related, and they have continued in the same worship ever since even to this day.

Anno 671.
Manasseh 28.

In the eight and twentieth year of the Reign of *Manasseh*, the twelve confederated Sovereigns of *Egypt*, after they had jointly reigned there fifteen years, falling (c) out among themselves expelled *Psammitichus*, one of their number, out of his share, which he had hitherto had with them in the Government of the Kingdom, and drove him into Banishment; whereon flying into the Fens near the Sea he lay hid there, till having gotten together out of the *Arabian* Free-booters, and

(b) 2 Kings xvii.

(c) Herodotus lib. 2. Diodorus Siculus lib. 1.

the Pirates of *Caria*, and *Ionia*, such a number of soldiers, as with the *Egyptians* of his party made a considerable Army, he marched with it against the other eleven, and having overthrown them in battel slew several of them, and drove the rest out of the Land, and thereon seizing the whole Kingdom to himself reigned over it in great prosperity fifty and four years.

As soon as he was well settled in the Kingdom, he (d) entered into a war with the King of *Affyria* about the boundaries of their two Empires, which lasted many years. For after the *Affyrians* had conquered *Syria*, *Palestine* only separating their respective Territories, it became a constant bone of contention between them, as it was between the *Ptolomies* and the *Seleucidae* afterwards, both parties striving, which of the two should have the mastery of this Province, and according as they prevailed, sometimes the one and sometimes the other possessed themselves of it. From the time of *Hezekiah* it appears to have been in the hands of the *Egyptians* till the Captivity of *Manasseh*. But when *Esharaddon* had conquered *Judea*, and carried the King Prisoner to *Babylon* (as hath been above mentioned) it's plain, that from thenceforth the King of *Affyria* became master of all even to the very entry of *Egypt*, and the *Egyptians* being at that time divided under several Princes, and in civil wars among themselves, were in no capacity to put a stop to this Progress. But when *Psammitichus* had gained the whole Monarchy to himself, and again settled the Affairs of that Kingdom upon its former foundation (which hapned about seven years after the Captivity of *Manasseh*) he thought it time to look to the Frontiers of his Kingdom, and secure them as well as he could against the power of this growing Neighbour, and therefore marched with an Army into *Palestine* for this purpose. But in the entry thereof he found

Anno 670.
Manass. 29.

(d) Herodot. lib. 2.

Ashdod, one of the first Towns of that Country, so strong a barrier against him, that it (e) cost him a Blockade of nine and twenty years, before he could make himself master of it.

This place had formerly been (f) one of the five Capital Cities of the Country of the *Philistins*. After this the *Egyptians* got possession of it, and by well fortifying of it made it so strong a Barrier of their Empire on that side, that *Sennacherib* could not enter *Egypt*, till (g) he had by *Tartan* one of his Generals made himself Master of it; and when he had gotten it into his possession, finding the importance of the place, he added so much to its strength, that notwithstanding his unfortunate retreat out of *Egypt*, and the terrible loss of his Army in *Judea* immediately after, the *Assyrians* still kept it even to this time, and it was not without that long and tedious Siege, which I have mentioned, that the *Egyptians* at last became again Masters of it. And when they had gotten it, they found it in such a manner wasted and reduced by so long a war that it did them but little service afterwards, it being then no more than the carcase of that City, which it had formerly been. And therefore the Prophet *Jeremiah* speaking of it calls it (h) *the remnant of Ashdod*, intimating thereby that it was then only the poor remains of what it had been in times foregoing.

But notwithstanding this long Siege, the whole war did not rest there. While part of the army lay at the Blockade, the rest carried on the War against the other parts of *Palestine*, and so it continued many years, which obliged *Manasseh* (i) to fortify *Jerusalem* anew, and to put strong Garrisons into all his Frontier Towns against them. For since his release from the Captivity of the *Assyrians*, and the Restoration of his Kingdom again to him, he was obliged to become their Homager, and engage on their side

(e) Herodorus lib. 2.

(h) Jeremiah xxv. 20.

(f) 1 Samuel vi. 17.

(i) 2 Chron. xxxiii. 14.

(g) Isaiah xx. 1.

in this War against the *Egyptians*, although they had been his former Allies. And the better to enable him to support himself herein, and also the more firmly to fix him in his fidelity to them, they seem at this time to have put under his command all the other parts of the Land of *Canaan*, that is all that had formerly been possessed by the Kings of *Samaria*, as well as what belonged to him as King of *Judah*. For it is certain that *Josiab* his Grandson had all this, (as will hereafter be shewn) that is, not only the two Tribes which made up the Kingdom of *Judah*, but also all that had formerly been possessed by the other ten under the Kings of *Israel*. And the most probable account, that can be given of his coming by all this, is, that it was all given to *Manasseh* on this occasion to hold in Homage of the Kings of *Assyria*, and that after his death it was continued to his Son and Grandson on the same conditions, in performance of which that good and just Prince King *Josiab* afterwards lost his life, as will be shewn in its proper place.

In the 31st year of *Manasseh* dyed *Esar-baddon*, after he had reigned with great felicity thirty nine years over the *Assyrians*, and thirteen over the *Babylonians*, and (k) *Saosduchinus* his Son reigned in his. He is the same who in the Book of *Judith* is called (l) *Nabuchodonosor*. In the beginning of the 12th year of his Reign, which was the 43d of *Manasseh* (m) he fought a great Battle in the plains of *Ragau* with *Deioces* King of *Media* (who in the Book of *Judith* is called (n) *Arphaxad*) and having overthrown him, and put him to flight, pursued after him to the adjacent Mountains, where he made his retreat, and there having overtaken him he cut him off and all his army, and thereon following his blow, and making the best of the advantage he had gotten,

Anno 668.

Manass. 31.

Anno 656.

Manass. 43.

(k) Canon. Ptol.

(l) Judith i. 1.

(m) Judith i. 5.

(n) Judith i. 1.

he made himself master of many of the Cities of *Media*, and among them took (o) *Ecbatana* it self, the Royal Seat of the *Median* Empire, and after having miserably defaced it returned in great Triumph to *Niniveh*, and there took his pleasure in banquetting and feasting, both he and his Army, for an hundred and twenty days.

After this time of feasting was over, (p) he called his Officers, Nobles, and chief Counsellors together, to take an account of what Tributary Countries and Provinces had not gone with him to the war; for he had summoned them all to attend him herein; and finding that none of the Western Countries had paid any regard to his commands in this matter, he made a Decree, that *Holofernes* the chief Captain of his Army should go forth to execute the wrath of his Lord upon them for it. And accordingly the next year

Anno 655.

Manaff. 44.

after he marched westward with an Army of an hundred and twenty thousand Foot, and twelve thousand Horse, and there wasted and destroyed a great many of those Nations, till at length coming into *Judea*, and laying siege to *Bethulia*, he was there destroyed, and all his Army cut in pieces, in the manner as is in the Book of *Judith* at full related.

That *Arphaxad* in the said Book of *Judith* was *Deioces*, and *Nabuchodonosor Saosduchinus*, appears from hence, that *Arphaxad* is said to be that King of *Media* who was (q) the Founder of *Ecbatana*, which all other writers agree to have been *Deioces*. And the beginning of the 12th year of *Saosduchinus* exactly agreeth with the last year of *Deioces*, when this Battel of *Ragau* is said to have been fought. And there are several particulars in that History, which make it utterly inconsistent with any other times. For it was (r) while *Niniveh* was the Metropolis of the *Assyrian* Empire; it was (s) while the *Persians*, *Syrians*, *Phæ-*

(o) Judith i. 14.

(r) Judith i. 1.

(p) Judith ii.

(s) Judith i. 7—10.

(q) Judith i. 2.

nicians, Cilicians, and Egyptians were subject to them; it was (t) while the *Median* Empire was in being, and not long after the building of *Ecbatana*; none of which could be after the Captivity of *Judah*, where some would place this History. For before that time *Niniveh* had been long destroyed, and both the *Assyrian* and *Median* Empires had been wholly extinguished, and the *Persians* instead of being subject to the *Assyrians* had made themselves Lords over them, and over all the other Nations of the *East* from the *Helle-spont* to the River *Indus*. For so far they had extended and established their Empire, before the *Jews* were returned from the *Babylonish* Captivity, and settled again in their own Country. And therefore we must go much higher than the times after that Captivity to find a proper scene for the matters in that Book related, and it can be no where laid more agreeably both with Scripture, and prophane History, than in the time where I have placed it.

This Book of *Judith* was originally written (u) in the *Chaldee* language by some *Jew* of *Babylon*, (which is not now extant) and from thence at the desire of *Paula* and *Eustochium* was by *St. Jerom* translated into the *Latin* tongue, which is the Translation that is now extant in the vulgar *Latin* Edition of the Bible, of which he himself saith in the Preface before it, that he did not translate it word for word, but only render'd it according to the sense of the Author, and that cutting off all the corruptions of various readings, which he found in different Copies, he did put only that into the Translation, which he judged to be the true and entire sense of the Original. But besides this translation of *St. Jerom* there are two others, one in *Greek*, and the other in *Syriac*. That which is in *Greek* is attributed to *Theodotion*, who flourished in the time of *Commodus*, who was made *Roman* Emperor in the year of *Christ* 180. But it must be much ancients. For *Clemens Romanus* in his

(t) *Judith* i. 1, 2.

(u) Hieronymi Præfatio in Librum Judith.

Epistle to the *Corinthians* (which was wrote near 120 years before) brings a quotation out of it. The *Syriac* Translation was made from the *Greek*, and so was also the *English*, which we at present have among the Apocryphal writings in our Bible. And it is to be observed, that all these three versions last mentioned have several particulars, which are not in *Jerom's*, and some of these seem to be those various readings, which he professeth to have cut off, as corruptions of the Text. And particularly that which is added in the 13th verse of the first Chapter appears to be of this sort. For there the battel of *Ragau* is placed in the 17th year of *Nabuchodonosor*, which is directly contradictory to what is in the former part of the same Chapter. For there it is positively said, that it was in the 12th year of his reign, and agreeable hereto *Jerom's* version placeth the Expedition of *Holofernes* (that was the next year after) in the 13th year of *Nabuchodonosor*, which is the truth of the matter, whereas the other following the blunder of the former contradiction makes another by placing it in the 18th year of his Reign, and so renders that part of the History wholly inconsistent with it self. And therefore certainly in this particular *Jerom's* version is to be preferr'd, which gives good reason to think, that it ought to be so in all the rest, wherever there is any difference between them.

But still, whether the Book be a true or a feigned History, is what learned men are not agreed in: The Romanists will have it all to be true, for they have receiv'd it into the Canon of divine writ. But on the other hand it is the opinion of (w) *Grotius*, that it is wholly a parabolical fiction, written in the time of *Antiochus Epiphanes*, when he came into *Judaea* to raise a persecution against the *Jewish* Church, and that the design of it was to confirm the *Jews* under that persecution in their hopes, that God would send them a deliverance. "That therein by *Judith* is

(w) In Præfatione ad Annotationes in Librum Judith.

" meant

“ meant *Judea*, by *Bethulia* the Temple, or House
 “ of God, and by the sword, which went out from
 “ thence, the prayers of the Saints; that *Nabuchodonosor*
 “ doth there denote the Devil, and the Kingdom of *Assyria*
 “ the Devil’s Kingdom, Pride: That by *Holofernes* is there
 “ meant the Instrument or Agent of the Devil in that
 “ persecution, *Antiochus Epiphanes*, who made himself
 “ master of *Judea*, that fair widow, so called because
 “ destitute of relief. That *Eliakim* signifies God, who
 “ would arise in her defence, and at length cut off that
 “ Instrument of the Devil, who would have corrupted her.”

This particular explication of the Parable (as he will have it to be) is I confess the peculiar fancy of this great Man. But otherwise there are abundance of other learned Writers among the Protestants, who agree with him in the General, that this Book is rather a Parabolical than a real History, made for the instructing and comforting of the people of the *Jews* under that figure, and not to give them a Narrative of any thing really done. And their reason for it is, that they think it utterly inconsistent with all times, where it hath been endeavoured to be placed, either before or after the Captivity of the *Jews*. My putting it in the time of *Manasseh* takes off all the Objections, which are brought to prove its inconsistency with the times after the Captivity, which I confess are unanswerable.

But where it here stands the objections from the other part still remain, and they are these following. 1st, That *Joakim* or *Eliakim* (for they are acknowledged to be both (x) the same name) is said in the History of *Judith* to have been then High-Priest. But there is none of that name to be found either in

(x) For they are both of the same signification. *El* being the name of God in one, as *Jehovah* in the other, and the latter part of the name is the same in both, and therefore as *Jehoiakim* or *Joakim* King of *Judah* is called also *Eliakim*, so this High-Priest is in the Version of *Jerom* called promiscuously by both names.

the Scriptures, or in *Josephus*, that was High-Priest before the Captivity. 2dly, *Achior* the *Ammonite* in his Speech to *Holofernes* (ch. v. ver. 18.) there speaks of the Temple, as having been lately cast to the ground, which was not done till the last year of the Reign of *Zedekiah*, and therefore this cannot be consistent with any time before it. And the 3d verse of the 4th Chapter plainly puts it after the Captivity. For there the Text is, that the people of the *Jews* were newly returned from their Captivity, when *Holofernes* invaded *Judaea*. 3dly, The chief management of the publick affairs of the state are in that Book placed wholly in the High-Priest without any mention made of the King throughout the whole of it, or implying in the least, that there was then any such Government in the Land, which renders it wholly inconsistent with any other times, than those in which there was no King in *Judah*. 4thly, That in the Conclusion of the Book, *Judith* is said to have lived an hundred and five years, and that none made the children of *Israel* any more afraid in all her days, nor a long time after her death. But supposing her to have been 45 years old when she went out to *Holofernes* (and in an older age she cannot well be supposed to have beauty enough to charm such a man) to make her an hundred and five years old there must be 60 years more added to her life, which will carry down her death to the fourth year of *Zedekiah*, when the state of the *Jews* had for several years been exceedingly disturb'd by the *Babylonians*, and was within a little while after totally subverted by them, which makes both her life and her death absolutely inconsistent with the times, in which they are above placed.

To the first of these objections it may be answered, 1st, That tho' there be no such person as *Joa-kim*, or *Eliakim*, named in Scripture to have been High-Priest before the Captivity, yet this is no argument, but there might have been such an one. For the Scripture no where professeth to give us an exact Catalogue of all such, as had been High-Priests till

the Captivity. That which looks most like it is what we have in the sixth Chapter of the first Book of *Chronicles*. But that is only a direct lineal descent of the Pontifical family from *Aaron* to *Josadak* the son of *Seraiah*, who was High-Priest at the Captivity, and not a Catalogue of such as had born the Pontifical Office. For several are in that Pedigree, who never were High-Priests, and several are left out, that were. The High-Priests of the Family of *Eli* are instances of the latter. For they are left out of that Pedigree, tho' they were High-Priests. And those of the true race, who were excluded by them, are instances of the former. For they are in it, though they never were High-Priests. And it is very likely, that from the time of *Solomon* to the Captivity many more such instances might have happened to hinder that Pedigree from being an exact Catalogue of the High-Priests. For on the Minority, or some other unqualifying defect of the right Heir, the next collateral must have been admitted to the Office, whose name could not come into the Pedigree, and on the failing of an elder branch (as might have happened) the Heir of the next collateral branch must have come into the Office. And then the Ancestors of the collateral Successor must be in the Pedigree, tho' they had never been in the Office. And those of the elder Branch, though they had been in the Office, could not be in the Pedigree, because it had failed. For it is only the Pedigree of *Josadak* the son of *Seraiah*, who was High-Priest at the Captivity, which is in a direct line from *Aaron* given us in the 6th Chapter of the first Book of *Chronicles*. And it being the usage of the *Jews* in their Pedigrees to pass from a remote Ancestor, to a remote Descendent, by leaving out those who are between, of which abundance of instances may be given in Scripture, it's possible this also might have happened in this case. And thus much is certain that four High-Priests named in Scripture are not in that Pedigree, i. e. *Jehoiada*, and *Zechariah* his Son, who were High-Priests in the reign

reign of *Joash*; *Azariah*, who was High-Priest in the reign of *Uzziah*; and *Urijah*, who was High-Priest in the reign of *Abaz*, Kings of *Judah*. There are indeed two *Azariah*'s named in that Pedigree, besides the *Azariah* who was the Father of *Seraiah*, but neither of these two could be the *Azariah*, that was High-Priest in the time of *Uzziah*. For (y) *Amariah* the son of the last of the said two *Azariah*'s in that Pedigree, was High-Priest in the time of *Jehosaphat*, five generations before. As to the Pedigrees of the High-Priests in *Ezra* and *Nehemiah*, they are but imperfect parts of that, which we have in the sixth Chapter of the first Book of *Chronicles*. As for the Catalogue of *Josephus*, it is so corrupted, that scarce five of the Names in it agree with any thing, that we have in Scripture. And therefore putting all this together, *Joakim* or *Eliakim* might have been High-Priest in the time of *Manasseh*, tho' there be no mention of him as such by either of his names either in the holy Scriptures or in the History of *Josephus*. But 2dly, That this *Joakim* or *Eliakim* (for both, as hath been afore observ'd, is the same name) is not named in Scripture, is not certainly true. For there are some, who will have *Eliakim* the son of *Hilkiab*, that is afore spoken of, to have been the Person, and understand what is said in the 22d Chapter of *Isaiah*, v. 21. of the robe and the girdle, which he was to put on, as meant of the Pontifical robe and girdle, and therefore infer from hence, that he was High-Priest, and (z) St. *Jerom* and St. *Cyril* among the ancients both were of this Opinion. And it must be said, that what is there prophesied of him by *Isaiah*, that God would commit the Government of the State to his hands in the room of *Shebna*, who was chief Minister before him, and that he should be a Father to the Inhabitants of *Jerusalem*, and to the House of *Judah*, and that the Key of the House of *David* should be laid upon his Shoulder to open

(y) 2 Chron. xix. 11.

(z) In *Esaian* xxii.

and to shut without controul, as he should think fit, doth very well agree with that part, which *Joakim* is said to have acted in the Book of *Judith*. But that he was the same person, is what I durst not from that, which is brought to prove it, lay much stress upon, neither is there any need of it for the satisfying of this objection: What I have else said being sufficient for it.

2dly, As to the objection from the 3d verse of the 4th Chapter of *Judith*, and from the speech of *Achior* (ch. v. ver. 18.) the words, on which they are founded, are not in *Jerom's* Version, and therefore it is most likely, they were put into the *Greek* Version (from whence the *English* is taken) from some of those corrupted Copies of the original, which *Jerom* complains of. For in his Version (which he made from the best corrected Copies of the original *Chaldee*) the 3d verse of the 4th Chapter is wholly left out, as are also those words of the 18th verse of the 5th Chapter, which speak of *the Temple's having been cast to the ground*. And altho' there be words still remaining in *Jerom's* Version, as well as in our *English*, which speak of the Captivity and Dispersion of the *Jews*, and their late Restoration again to their own Land, yet they are none other, than what may be better understood of the *Assyrian* Captivity in the time of *Manasseh*, than of the *Babylonish*, which hapned afterwards.

As to the 3d Objection, it's possible *Manasseh* might be then engaged in the defence of some other part of his Kingdom, and therefore had entrusted *Joakim* with the management of all affairs at *Jerusalem* during his absence. And if he were the *Eliakim* mentioned in the 22d Chapter of *Isaiab*, and as chief Minister of State was then invested with all that amplitude of Trust and Power, as is there described, that might be reason enough for him only to be made mention of in this transaction, without naming of his Master at all therein.

But lastly, to give a satisfactory answer to the fourth Objection, I must confess, is not in my power. Could we put this History so far back, as the Minority of *Manasseh*, this would not only afford us an answer to this objection, but would also give us a much clearer one to the last preceding. For then there would be reason enough, not to mention the Minor King, but only the chief Minister and Guardian of the Kingdom, in the transacting of the whole affair. And the death of *Judith* would on this supposition be at such a distance from the destruction of the *Jewish* State, as not to make this objection unanswerable. But the wickedness of the Pupil will not allow him to have been bred under so good a man for his Governour, as *Eliakim* is described to be. And what is said in the 18th and 19th verses of the fifth Chapter of *Judith* concerning the captivity and restoration of the *Jews*, and is retained also in *Jerom's* version, must necessarily refer the matters therein related to those times, which followed the Captivity of *Manasseh*, and the restoration of him and his People again to their own Land. And the Chronology of this History will not permit the beginning of it to fall any where else, but in the 12th year of *Saosduchinus*, and the last of *Deioces*; and these two Characters of the time exactly concurring according to *Herodotus* and *Ptolemy* do unavoidably determin us to fix it here. However our not being able to clear this difficulty is not a sufficient reason for us to reject the whole History. There is scarce any History written, but what to the next age after may appear, as to time, place and other circumstances, with those seeming inconsistencies, as cannot then be easily reconciled, when the memory of men begin to fail concerning them. And how much more then may we be apt to be blundered, when we take our view at the distance of above two thousand years, and have no other light to discern the so far distant object by, than such glimmerings from broken scraps of History, as leave us next door to groping in the dark,

dark, for whatsoever knowledge we get by them? That which seemeth most probable in this case is, that the writer of this Book, the more to magnify his Heroine, attributed too long a continuance to that Peace, which was by her obtained for the Land. For according to this account it must have lasted (a) at least 80 years, which being what they never had enjoyed from the time they were a Nation, or what scarce any other Nation ever had, I would rather chuse to allow a fiction in this particular, than for the sake of it condemn the whole Book as such, which seemeth to carry with it the air of a true History in all other particulars.

However I must acknowledge, that what is above said in the defence of this Book for its being a true History doth not so far clear the matter, especially in respect of the fourth objection, but that if any one will still contend, that it is only a religious Romance, and not a true History; that according to the intention of the Author the scene of it was put under the reign of *Xerxes*, when (b) *Joachim* the son of *Joshua* was High-Priest, and the civil Government of *Judæa*, as well as the Ecclesiastical, was in the hands of that Officer; and that the inconsistency of so many particulars in that Book with the state and transactions of those times was only from the ignorance of the Author in the History of the said times, and his unskillfulness in placing the scene of his story in them; I say, if any one will insist on all this, notwithstanding what is above said, I shall not enter into any Controversie with him about it; only thus much I must insist on, that if it be a true History (which I am inclined most to think, though I will

(a) For allowing her to have been 45 years old at the time of her killing Holofernes, there must be 60 years after to the time of her death, and a long time after in the Text (*Judith* xvi. 25.) cannot imply less than 20 years more. But if we suppose her to be but 25 at the killing of Holofernes (which is more likely) it will carry down the computation even beyond the destruction of Jerusalem, which makes the objection much stronger.

(b) *Nehemiah* xii. 10, 26.

not be positive in it) it can fall no where else, but in the time where I have laid it.

After the death of *Deioces*, (c) *Phraortes* his son succeeded in the Kingdom of *Media*, and reigned over it twenty two years.

Anno 648.
Manass. 51. In the fifty first year of *Manasseh* dyed (d)* *Saosduchinus* King of *Babylon* and *Assyria*, and *Ckiniladanus* reigned in his stead.

Anno 644.
Manass. 55. *Manasseh* King of *Judah*, after he had reigned fifty five years, and lived sixty seven, (e) died at *Jerusalem*; and notwithstanding his signal repentance, since his former wickedness had been so great, they would not allow him the honour of being buried in the Sepulchres of the Sons of *David*, but laid him in a grave made for him in his own Garden.

Anno 643.
Ammon 1. After *Manasseh* reigned *Ammon* his son, who imitating the first Part of his father's reign, rather than the latter, gave himself up to all manner of wickedness and impiety, whercon the servants of his House conspired against him and slew him, after he had reigned two Years. But the People of the Land severely reveng'd the Murder, putting them all to Death, that had any hand in it. However they would not give him in his burial the honour of a place among the Sepulchres of the Sons of *David*, but buried him in the Garden by his Father; which shews, that though they condemned the wickedness of his reign, they would not allow of the violence that was offered to his Person; though it may well be supposed, that nothing less, than the highest Tyranny and Oppression, could have provok'd his own domesticks to it.

Anno 640.
Josiah 1. After the death of *Ammon*, (f) *Josiah* his Son succeeded him in the Kingdom, being then but eight years old. But having the

(c) Herodotus lib. 1.
18. 2 Chron. xxiii. 20.

(d) Canon Prol.

(e) 2 Kings xxi.

(f) 2 Kings xxii. 2 Chron. xxxiv.

Happiness to fall under the conduct of better Guardians in his Minority, than did *Manasseh* his Grandfather, he proved, when grown up, a Prince of very extraordinary worth, equalling in Piety, Virtue, and Goodness, if not exceeding herein, the best of his Predecessors.

Altho' *Ammon* reigned but two years, yet the beginning of the Reign of *Josiah* is here put at the distance of three years from the beginning of the first year of *Ammon*, because the odd Months of the Reigns of *Hezekiah*, *Manasseh*, and *Ammon*, over and above the round number of Years which they are said to have reigned, do by this time amount to a whole year more, which the Chronology of the ensuing History makes necessary to be here supposed.

In the sixth year of *Josiah*, (g) *Phraortes* King of *Media* having brought under him all the upper *Asia* (which is all that lay North of Mount *Taurus* from *Media* to the River *Halys*) and made the *Persians* also to become subject unto him, elated his thoughts on these successes to the revenging of himself upon the *Assyrians* for his Father's Death, and accordingly marched with a great Army against them, and having made himself Master of the Country laid Siege to *Nineveh* it self, the Capital of the Empire. But he had there the misfortune to meet with the same ill fate that his Father had in the former War, for being overthrown in the Attempt, he and all his Army perished in it.

Anno 635.
Josiah 6.

Josiah in the (h) eighth year of his reign, being now sixteen years old, took on him the Administration of the Kingdom, and beginning with the Reformation of Religion endeavoured to purge it of all those Corruptions, which had been introduced in the time of *Ammon* and *Manasseh*, his Father and Grandfather, and did set his Heart to seek the Lord his God with all his might, as did *David* his father.

Anno 633.
Josiah 8.

(g) Herodot. lib. 1.

(h) 2 Chron. xxxiv. 3.

Cyaxares the Son of *Pbraortes* (i) having succeeded his Father in the Kingdom of *Media*, as soon as he had well settled himself in the Government, drew together a great Army to be revenged on the *Affyrians* for the late loss, and having overthrown them in a great battel led the *Medes* the second time to the siege of *Nineveh*; but before he could make any progress therein he was called off to defend his own Territories against a new Enemy. For the *Scythians* from the Parts about the *Palus Meotis*, passing round the *Caucasus*, had made a great inroad upon them, whereby he was forced to leave *Nineveh* to march against them. But he had not the same success in this War, which he had against the *Affyrians*, for the *Scythians* having vanquished him in Battel dispossessed him of all the upper *Asia*, and reigned there twenty eight years, during which time they enlarged their Conquests into *Syria*, and as far as the Borders of *Egypt*. But there *Psammitichus* King of *Egypt* having met them, prevailed with Intreaties and large Gifts, that they proceeded no farther, and thereby saved his Country from this dangerous Invasion. In this Expedition they seized (k) on *Bethsbean*, a City in the Territories of the Tribe of *Manasseh* on this side *Jordan*, and kept it as long as they continued in *Asia*, and therefore from them it was afterwards called *Scythopolis*, or the City of the *Scythians*. But how far the ravages of these Barbarians might affect *Judea* is no where said, altho' there can be no doubt, but that those parts, as well as the rest of *Palestine*, both in their march to the borders of *Egypt*, and also in their return from thence, must have suffered much by them. It is related of them, that in their passage through the land of the *Philistines* on their return from *Egypt*, some of the stragglers (l) robbed the Temple of *Venus* at *Askalon*, and that for the Punishment hereof they and their posterity were afflicted with Emrods for a long while after; which

(i) Herodot. lib. 1.

(k) Syncellus, p. 214.

(l) Herodot. lib. 1.

lets us know, that the *Philistines* had till then still preserved the memory of what they had formerly suffered on the account (m) of the Ark of God. For from that time, it seems, they looked on this Disease as the proper punishment from the Hand of God for all such like sacrilegious Impieties, and for this reason assigned it to the *Scythians* in their Histories, on their charging of them there with this Crime.

Josiah in the (n) 12th year of his reign, being now twenty years old, and having farther improved himself in the Knowledge of God and his Laws, proceeded according hereto farther to perfect that Reformation, which he had begun. And therefore making a strict inquiry by a general progress through the Land after all the relicts of Idolatry, which might be any where remaining therein, he broke down all the Altars of *Baalim* with the Idols erected on high before them, and all the High-Places, and cut down the Groves, and brake in pieces all the carved Images, and the molten Images, and digged up the Graves of the Idolatrous Priests, and burnt their Bones upon all places of Idolatrous Worship, thereby to pollute and defile them for ever; and when he had thus cleansed all *Judah* and *Jerusalem*, he went into the Cities of *Ephraim* and *Manasseh*, and all the rest of the Land, that had formerly been possessed by the ten tribes of *Israel*, (for all this was then subject to him) and there did the same thing.

Anno 619.
Josiah 12.

In the 13th Year of *Josiah* (o) *Jeremiah* was called to the prophetick Office, which he afterwards executed for above 40 years in warning *Judah* and *Jerusalem* of the wrath of God impending on them for their Iniquities, and in calling them to repentance for the averting of it, till at length on their continuing wholly obdurate in their

Anno 628.
Josiah 13.

(m) 1 Sam. v. i. 2. and xxv. 3.

(n) 2 Chron. xxxiv. 3, 4, 5, &c.

(o) Jer.

evil ways, it was poured out in full measure upon both in a most calamitous Destruction.

Anno 626.
Josiah 15. In the 15th year of *Josiah*, *Chyniladanus* King of *Babylon* and *Affyria*, having by his Effeminacy and Unprofitableness in the State made himself contemptible to his people, (p) *Nabopollasar*, who was General of his Army, took this Advantage to set up for himself, and being a *Babylonian* by birth made use of his Interest there to seize that part of the *Affyrian* Empire, and reigned King of *Babylon* twenty one years.

Anno 623.
Josiah 18. *Josiah* (q) in the 18th year of his reign took especial care for the repairing of the House of God, and therefore sent several of the chief Officers of his Court to take an account of the Money collected for it, and to lay his command upon *Hilkiah* the High-Priest, that he should see it be forthwith laid out in the doing of the work, so that all might be put in thorough repair. The High-Priest in pursuance of this order took a general view of the House, to see what was necessary to be done, and while he was thus examining every place he found the Authentick Copy of the Law of *Moses*. This ought to have been laid up (r) on the side of the Ark of the Covenant in the most Holy place, but it was taken out thence and hid elsewhere in the time of *Manasseh*, as it is conjectured, that it might not be destroyed by him in the time of his Iniquity. This Book *Hilkiah* sent to the King by *Shaphan* the Scribe, who on his delivering of it to the King did by his command read some part of it to him. The place, which on the opening of the Book he hapned on, was (say the Jewish Doctors) that part of the 28th Chapter of *Deuteronomy*, wherein are denounced the Curses of God against the People of *Israel*, and against the King in particular (ver. 26.) in case they

(p) Alexander Polyhistor apud Eusebium in Chronico, p. 46. & apud Syncellum, p. 240. (q) 2 Kings xxii. 2 Chron xxxiv. (r) Deut. xxxi. 26.

should

should not keep the Law which he had commanded them. On the hearing of this *Josiah* rent his Cloaths through grief, and was seized with great fear and consternation on the account both of himself and his People, as knowing how much they and their Fathers had transgressed this Law, and dreading the Curses denounced against them for it. To ease his Mind under this trouble and anxiety of his Thoughts he sent *Hilkiah* the High-Priest with several of his Officers to *Huldah* the Prophetess, to enquire of the Lord. The Answer, which they brought back, was a sentence of Destruction upon *Judah* and *Jerusalem*; but that as to *Josiah*, because of his Repentance, the Execution of it should be delayed till after his Days. However the good King, to appease the wrath of God, as much as lay in his Power, called together a solemn Assembly of all the Elders and People of *Judah* and *Jerusalem*, and going up with them to the Temple caused the Law of God to be there read to them, and after that both King and People publicly entered into a solemn Covenant to walk after the Lord, and to keep his Commandments, and his Testimonies and his Statutes, with all their Heart and all their Soul, and to perform all the Words of the Covenant, that were written in that Book. And after this he made another progress through the Land to purge it of all other Abominations of Idolatry or other wickedness, which might be still remaining in it, which he thoroughly rooted out in all parts of his Kingdom in such manner, as is in the 23d Chapter of the 2d Book of *Kings* at large related. And particularly he destroyed the Altar and High-place, which *Jeroboam* had built at *Bethel*, first polluting them by burning on them the Bones of Men taken out of their Sepulchres near adjoining, and then breaking down the Altar, and burning the High-place and the Grove, and stamping them all to powder, whereby he fulfilled what had been (s) prophesied

(s) 1 Kings xiii. 2.

of him by name many Ages before in the time of *Jeroboam*. And he did the same in all the rest of the Cities of *Samaria*, destroying every remainder of Idolatry, which he could any where find in any of them. And when the next Passover approached he caused that feast to be kept with so great a solemnity and concourse of People from all parts of the Land, that it not only exceeded the Passover of *Hezekiah*, which is afore-mentioned, but all other Passovers from the Days of *Samuel* the Prophet to that time.

By the behaviour both of the High-Priest, as well as of the King, at the finding of the Book of the Law, it plainly appears that neither of them had seen any Copy of it before; which shews into how corrupt a state the Church of the *Jews* was then sunk, till this good King reformed it. For although *Hezekiah* (*fs*) kept Scribes on purpose to collect together, and write out Copies of the Holy Scriptures, yet through the Iniquity of the times, that after followed in the Reigns of *Manasseh* and *Ammon*, they had either been so destroyed, or else so neglected and lost, that there were then none of them left in the Land, unless in some few private hands, where they were kept up and concealed till this Copy was found in the Temple. And therefore after this time (by the care we may be assured of this Religious Prince) were written out those Copies of the Law, and other Holy Scriptures then in being, which were preserved after the Captivity, and out of which *Ezra* made his Edition of them in such manner as will be hereafter related.

Anno 617.
Jofiah 24. In the 24th Year of *Jofiah* (*t*) died *Psammitichus* King of *Egypt* after he had reigned fifty four years, and was succeeded by *Necus* his Son, the same who in Scripture is called *Pharaoh Necho*, and often mentioned there under that Name. He made an Attempt to join the *Nile* and the *Red Sea*, by drawing a Canal from the one to the

(*fs*) Prov. xxv. 1. (*t*) Herodotus, lib. 1.

other. But after he had consumed an hundred and twenty thousand Men in the work, he was forced to desist from it. But he had better success in another undertaking, for having gotten some of the expertest of the *Phœnician* Sailors into his Service, he (u) sent them out by the *Red Sea* through the Streights of *Babelmandel* to discover the Coasts of *Africa*, who having sailed round it came home the third year through the Streights of *Gibraltar*, and the *Mediterranean Sea*, which was a very extraordinary Voyage to be made in those days when the use of the Loadstone was not known. This Voyage was performed about two thousand one hundred Years before *Vasquez de Gama*, a *Portuguese*, by discovering the *Cape of Good-Hope*, *Anno Domini* 1497, found out the same way from hence to the *Indies*, by which these *Phœnicians* came from thence. Since that it hath been made the common passage thither from all these Western parts of the World.

In the 29th Year of the Reign of *Josiah*, which was the 23d of *Cyaxares* in the Kingdom of *Media*, (w) *Nabopolassar* King of *Babylon*, having made an Affinity with *Astyages*, the eldest Son of *Cyaxares*, by the Marriage of *Nebuchadnezzar* his Son with *Amyitis* the Daughter of *Astyages*, entered into a Confederacy with him against the *Assyrians*, and thereon joining their forces together they besieged *Nineveh*, and after having taken the place, and slain *Saracus* the King (who was either the Successor of *Chyniladanus*, or he himself under another Name) to gratify the *Medes* they utterly destroyed that great and ancient City, and from that time *Babylon* became the sole Metropolis of the *Assyrian* Empire. From the time that *Esharhaddon* obtained the Kingdom of *Babylon* (x) both Cities equally had this Honour, the Kings sometimes resi-

Anno 612.
Josiah 29.

(u) Herodotus, lib. 4. (w) Eusebii Chronicon, p. 124. Alexander Polyhistor apud Syncellum, p. 210. & apud Eusebium in Chronico, p. 46. Herodotus, lib. 1. (x) Strabo, lib. 16. p. 734.

ding at *Nineveh*, and sometimes at *Babylon*. But after this *Nineveh* lost it for ever. For although there was another City afterwards erected out of the Ruins of old *Nineveh*, which for a long time bore the same name, yet it never attained to the grandeur and glory of the former. It is at this day called (y) *Mosul*, and is only famous for being the Seat of the Patriarch of the *Nestorians*, of which sect are most of the Christians in those parts. It is situated on the west side of the River *Tigris*, where was anciently only a suburb of the old *Nineveh*, for the City it self stood on the east side of the River, where are to be seen some of its Ruins of great extent even to this day. According to (z) *Diodorus Siculus* the Circuit of *Nineveh* was four hundred and eighty furlongs, which make sixty of our miles. And hence it is, that it is said in *Jonah* to be a City (a) of three days journey, that is in compass. For 20 miles is as much as a Man can well go in one day. *Strabo* (b) saith of it, that it was much bigger than *Babylon*, and in the same place he tells us, that the Circuit of *Babylon* was 385 furlongs, that is 48 of our Miles. The phrase *much bigger* may well extend to the other twelve miles to make it up sixty.

In this destruction of *Nineveh* was fulfilled the Prophecies of (c) *Jonah*, (d) *Nabum*, and (e) *Zephaniah*, against it. And we are told in the Book of (f) *Tobit*, that *Tobias* his Son liv'd to hear of it, and that it was accomplished by *Nabuchodonosor* and *Assuerus*, which exactly agrees with the account, which out of *Alexander Polyhistor* I have just above given of it. For that the *Assuerus* here mentioned was *Astyages* appears from *Daniel*: For *Darius the Mede*, who was *Cyaxares* the Son of *Astyages*, is there called the Son (g) of *Abasuerus*. And *Nabuchodonosor*

(y) Thevenot's Travels, Part 2. Book 1. Chap. 11. p. 50.

(z) Lib. 2. (a) *Jonah* iii. 3. (b) Lib. 16. p. 737. (c) Chap. iii.

(d) Chap. ii. and iii. (e) Chap. ii. 13. (f) Chap. xiv. 15.

(g) *Daniel* ix. 1.

was a name among the *Babylonians* commonly given to their Kings, as that of *Pharaoh* was among the *Egyptians*. And that *Nabopollasar* in particular was so called, not only appears from the (b) the Rabbinical Writings of the *Jews*, but also from *Josephus* himself, a Writer by reason of his Antiquity of much better Authority in this matter. For in his Antiquities where he is speaking of this same King he (i) calls him in a quotation, which is there brought out of *Berosus*, by the Name of *Nabuchodonosor*, and afterwards (k) in his Book against *Apion* repeating the same quotation he there calls him *Nabullasar*, the same by contraction with *Nabopollasar*, which plainly proves him to have been called by both these names. I know there are those, who take upon them from this passage in the Book against *Apion* to mend that in the Antiquities, and put *Nabopollasar* in both places. But I see no reason for it but their own fancy. Others may with as good authority from the passage in the Antiquities mend that in the Book against *Apion*, and put *Nabuchodonosor* in both places. It's certain the Books of *Tobit* and *Judith* can never be reconciled with any other ancient Writings, either sacred or prophane, which relate to those times, unless we allow *Nabuchodonosor* to have been a name common to the Kings of *Babylon*.

The (l) Arch-bishop of *Armagh* hath put this destruction of *Nineveh* fourteen years earlier, that is in the last year of *Chyniladanus* in the Canon of *Ptolemy*, for no other reason, I suppose, but that he reckoned, that the end of his Life and the end of his Reign in that Canon hapned both at the same time, and both together in the destruction of that City. Whereas the Computation of that Canon being by the Years

(b) In *Fuchasin* *Nebuchadnezzar* is called *Nebuchadnezzar the Son of Nebuchadnezzar*, fol. 136. And *David Ganz* under the year of the world 3285 calls the Father *Nebuchadnezzar the first*, and the Son *Nebuchadnezzar the Second*.

(i) *Josephus* Antiq. lib. 10. c. 11.

(k) Lib. 1. (l) In *Annalibus veteris Testamenti sub Anno mundi*.

of the Kings that reigned at *Babylon*, *Chyniladanus's* Reign there must end where *Nabopollasar's* begun, whether he then died or no, as it is most probable he did not, but that he continued to hold the Kingdom of *Assyria* after he had lost that of *Babylon*, and that it was not till some time after that loss, that *Nineveh* was destroyed. For *Eusebius* placeth the Destruction of *Nineveh* in the 23d year of the reign of *Cyaxares*, and to put it back 14 years to the last of *Chyniladanus* in the Canon will make it fall in the ninth year of *Cyaxares*, which is too early either for his son *Astyages* to have a daughter marriagable, or for *Nebuchadnezzar* to be of age sufficient to take her to Wife: For after this rate *Nebuchadnezzar* must be allowed to have been (m) at the least 85 years old at the time of his Death, and *Astyages* much older, which is an age very unlikely for such to live, who usually waste their lives both by luxury and fatigue much faster than other Men.

At the destruction of this City of *Nineveh* ended the Book of *Tobit*. It was first written (n) in *Chaldee* by some *Babylonian Jew*, and seems in its original draught to have been the Memoirs of the Family, to which it relates, first begun by *Tobit*, then continued by *Tobias*, and lastly finished by some other of the Family, and afterwards digested by the *Chaldee* Author into that form, in which we now have it. *Jerom* (n) translated it out of the *Chaldee* into *Latin*, and his Translation is that which we have in the vulgar *Latin* Edition of the Bible. But there is a *Greek* Version much ancients than this: For we find it made use of by *Polycarp*, *Clemens Alexandrinus*, and other Fathers, who were before *Jerom*, and from this hath been made the *Syriac* Version, and also that which we have in *English* among the *Apocryphal* wri-

(m) For according to this account the marriage must have been 21 years before *Nebuchadnezzar* began to reign, and he reigned 43 Years. And it must also have been 31 years before *Astyages* began to reign, and he reigned 30 years.

(n) Præfatio Hieronymi in Tobiam.

ters in our Bible. But the *Chaldee* original is not now extant. The *Hebrew* Copies which go about of this Book, as well as of that of *Judith*, seem both to be of (o) a modern Composure. It being easier to settle the Chronology of this Book, than that of the Book of *Judith*, it hath met with much less opposition from learned men, and is generally looked on by both *Jews* and Christians, as a genuine and true History, tho' as to some matters in it (as particularly that of the Angel's accompanying of *Tobias* in a long journey under the shape of *Azarias*, the story of *Raguel's* Daughter, the frightening away of the Devil by the smoak of the heart and liver of a fish, and the curing of *Tobit's* blindness by the gall of the same fish,) it is much less reconcilable to a rational credibility. For these things look more like the fictions of *Homer*, than the writings of a sacred Historian, and give an objection against this Book, which doth not lye against the other. However it may excellently well serve to represent unto us the duties of Charity and Patience in the Example of *Tobit's* ready helping his Brethren in distress to the utmost of his power, and his bearing with a pious submission the Calamities of his Captivity, Poverty, and Blindness, as long as inflicted upon him. The *Latin* and *Greek* Versions of this Book, which I have mentioned, do much differ, each having some particulars in it, which are wanting in the other. But here the *Latin* Version must give place to the *Greek*. For *Jerom* (p) made it before he himself understood *Chaldee*, by the help of a learned *Jew*, from whose mouth he tells us he wrote down in *Latin*, what the other rendred into *Hebrew* from the original, and in this manner finished the whole work in one day's time. And a work so done must undoubtedly have abundance of mistakes as well as unaccuracies in it. But his Translation (q) of *Ju-*

(o) They are generally thought to have been made by Munster.

(p) Hieronymi præfatio in Tobiam.

(q) Hieronymi præfatio in li-

brum Judith.

ditb was made afterwards, when by his further studies in the oriental Languages he had rendred himself as much Master of the *Chaldee*, as he was before of the *Hebrew*; and he did it with great care, comparing diligently many various Copies, and making use only of such as he found to be the best, and therefore his version of that Book may well deserve an authority beyond the *Greek*, which cannot be claimed for the other. If the Copy which *Jerom* translated his *Tobit* from were a true Copy, and he were not mistaken in the version, there is one passage in it, which absolutely overthrows the whole authority of the Book. For (*Ch. xiv. 7.*) there is mention made of the Temple of *Jerusalem*, as then burnt and destroyed, which makes the whole of it utterly inconsistent with the times in which it is placed. The *Greek* version, as also the *Englisb*, which is taken from of it, I acknowledge, speak only Prophetically of it, as of that which was to be done, and not Historically, as of that which was already done, as *Jerom's* doth. However this *Latin* Edition is that, which the Church of *Rome* hath canonized. If the Historical ground-plot of the Book be true, which is the most that can be said of it, yet certainly it is interlarded with many Fictions of the invention of him that wrote it.

The *Babylonians* and the *Medes* having thus destroyed *Nineveh*, as is above related, they became so formidable hereon, as raised the jealousy of all their neighbours, and therefore to put a stop to their growing greatness, (*r*) *Necho* King of *Egypt* in the thirty first year of King *Josiah* marched with a great army towards *Euphrates* to make war upon them. The words of *Josephus* are, (*s*) *That it was to make war upon the Medes and Babylonians, who had dissolved the Assyrian Empire*; which plainly shews, that this war was commenced immediately upon that dissolution,

(*r*) Herodotus lib. 2. Josephus Antiq. lib. 10. c. 6.
Antiq. lib. 10. c. 6.

(*s*) Josephus

and consequently that the destruction of *Nineveh*, whereby this dissolution was brought to pass, was just before this war, in the year where according to *Eusebius* I have placed it.

On *Necho's* taking his way through *Judea* *Anno 610.*
 (t) *Josiah* resolved to impede his march, and *Josiah 31.*
 therefore getting together his forces he posted himself in the Valley of *Megiddo*, there to stop his passage; whereon *Necho* sent Embassadors unto him, to let him know that he had no design upon him, that the war he was engaged in was against others, and therefore advised him not to meddle with him, lest it should turn to his hurt. But *Josiah* not hearkening thereto, on *Necho's* marching up to the place, where he was posted to stop his passage, it there came to a battle between them, wherein *Josiah* was not only overthrown, but also unfortunately received a wound, of which on his return to *Jerusalem* he there dyed, after he had reigned thirty one years.

It is the Notion of many, that *Josiah* engaged rashly and unadvisedly in this war, upon an over-confidence in the merit of his own righteousness, as if God for this reason must necessarily have given him success in every war which he should engage himself in. But this would be a presumption very unworthy of so religious a Person. There was another reason, that engaged him in this undertaking, which hath been above hinted at. From the time of *Manasseh's* Restoration the Kings of *Judah* were Homagers to the Kings of *Babylon*, and bound by oath to adhere to them against all their Enemies, especially against the *Egyptians*, and to defend that border of their Empire against them. And for this purpose they seem to have had conferred on them the rest of the Land of *Canaan*, that which had formerly been possessed by the other ten Tribes, 'till conquered from them by the *Assyrians*. It's certain *Josiah* had the

(t) 2 Kings xxxiii. 29, 30. 1 Chron. xxxv. 20—25.

whole Land of *Israel* in the same extent, in which it had been held by *David* and *Solomon*, before it was divided into two Kingdoms. For his Reformation went through all of it, and it was executed by him not only in *Bethel* (where one of *Jeroboam's* calfs stood) but also in every other part thereof, and with the same sovereign authority, as in *Judea* it self, and therefore he must have been King of the whole. And it is to be remarked, that the Battel was fought, not within the Territories of *Judea*, but at *Megiddo* a Town of the Tribe of *Manasseh*, lying in the middle of the Kingdom of *Israel*, where *Josiah* would have had nothing to do, had he not been King of that Kingdom also, as well as of the other of *Judah*. And he could have had it no otherwise, but by grant from the King of *Babylon*, a Province of whose Empire it was made by the conquest of it, first begun by *Tiglath-Pileser*, and afterwards finished by *Salmaneser*, and *Esharhaddon*. And if this Grant was not upon the exprefs conditions, which I have mentioned, yet whatsoever other Terms there were of this concession, most certainly fidelity to the Sovereign Paramount, and a steddy adherence to his interest against all his Enemies, was always required in such cases, and an Oath of God exacted for the performance hereof. And it is not to be doubted, but that *Josiah* had taken such an Oath to *Nabopolassar* the then reigning King of *Babylon*, as *Jehoiakim* and *Zedekiah* afterwards did to *Nebuchadnezzar*, his Son and Successor in that Empire. And therefore should *Josiah*, when under such an obligation, have permitted an Enemy of the King of *Babylon* to pass thorough his Country to make war upon him without any opposition, it would plainly have amounted to the breach of his Oath, and a violation of that fidelity, which he had in the name of his God sworn unto him, which so good and just a man as *Josiah* was could not but absolutely detest. For although the Romanists make nothing of breaking faith with Heretics, yet the breaking of Faith with an Heathen was condemned

demned (*u*) by God himself in *Jeboiakim* and *Zedekiah*, and most certainly it would have been condemned in *Josiah* also, had he become guilty of it; which being what a person so well instructed in Religion, as *Josiah* was, could not but be thoroughly convinced of, the sense which he had of his duty in this particular seems solely to have been that, which engaged him in this war, in which he perished. And with him perished all the glory, honour, and prosperity of the *Jewish* Nation. For after that nothing else ensued, but a dismal scene of God's Judgments upon the Land, 'till at length all *Judah* and *Jerusalem* were swallowed up by them in a woful destruction.

The death of so excellent a Prince was deservedly lamented by all his people, and by none more than by *Jeremiah* the Prophet, who had a thorough sense of the greatness of the loss, and also a full foresight of the great Calamities, that were afterwards to follow upon the whole people of the *Jews*, and therefore while his heart was full with the view of both, he wrote (*w*) a song of Lamentation upon this doleful occasion, as he afterwards did another upon the destruction of *Jerusalem*. This (*x*) last is that which we still have, the other is not now extant.

Megiddo where the battel was fought was a City (*y*) in the Tribe of *Manasseh* on this side *Jordan*, which is by *Herodotus* called *Magdolum*, nigh it was the Town of *Hadad-Rimmon*, afterwards called (*z*) *Maximianopolis*, and therefore the Lamentation for the death of *Josiah* is in Scripture called *the Lamentation of Hadad-Rimmon in the valley of Megiddo*, which was so great for this excellent Prince, and so long continued, that (*a*) the Lamentation of *Hadad-Rimmon* afterwards became a Proverbial Phrase for the expressing of any extraordinary Sorrow.

(*u*) Ezekiel xvii. 13—19.

(*w*) 2 Chron. xxxv. 25.

(*x*) This last referring throughout to the destruction of *Jerusalem*, could not be that which was wrote upon the death of *Josiah*. (*y*) Joshua xvii. 11. Judges i. 27. (*z*) Hieronymus.

(*a*) Zechariah xii. 11.

This great and general mourning of all the People of *Israel* for the death of this Prince, and the Prophet *Jeremiah's* joining so pathetically with them herein, sheweth in how great a reputation he was with them; which he would not have deserved, had he engaged in this war contrary to the words of that Prophet spoken to him from the mouth of the Lord, as the Apocryphal writer of the first Book (*b*) of *Esdra's*, and others from him say. For then he would have died in Rebellion against God, and disobedience to his command, and then neither God's prophet, nor God's people could in this case without sinning against God have expressed so great an esteem for him, as this mourning implied. And therefore this mourning alone is a sufficient proof of the contrary. Besides it is to be observed, that no part of Canonical Scripture gives us the least intimation of it, or can we from thence have any reason or ground to believe, that there was any such word from the Lord by the Prophet *Jeremiah*, or any other Prophet, to recal *Josiah* from this war. All that is said of it, is from the Apocryphal Book I have mentioned, of which it may be truly said, that where it is not a transcript from *Ezra* or some other Canonical Scripture, it is no more than a bundle of Fables, too absurd for the belief of the Romanists themselves (for they have not taken this Book into their Canonical Scripture, though they have those of *Tobit*, and of *Bell and the Dragon*) and therefore it is deserving of no man's regard in this particular.

It is said indeed (2 *Chron.* xxxv. 21.) that *Necho* sent Messengers to *Josiah* to tell him, that he was sent of God on this Expedition; that God was with him in it; and that to meddle with him would be to meddle with God; and that therefore he ought to forbear, that God destroy him not. And (verse 22.) that *Josiah* hearkened not to the word of *Necho* from the mouth of God. And from all this put to-

(*b*) Chap. i. 28.

gether some would infer that *Josiah* was disobedient to the word of God in going to that war. But this is utterly inconsistent with the Character, which is given us in Scripture, of that Religious and Excellent Prince. And therefore what is here said must not be understood of the true God *the Lord Jehovah*, who was the God of *Israel*, but of the *Egyptian* Gods, whose Oracles *Josiah* had no reason to have any regard to. For *Necho* being an Heathen Prince knew not *the Lord Jehovah*, nor ever consulted his Prophets, or his Oracles; the *Egyptian* Gods were those only which he worshipped, and whose Oracles he consulted, and therefore when he saith he was sent of God on this Expedition, and that God was with him, he meant none other, than his false *Egyptian* Gods, whom he served. For wherever the word *God* occurs in this Text, it is not expressed in the *Hebrew* Original by the word *Jehovah*, which is the proper name of the true God, but by the word *Elohim*, which being in the plural number is equally applicable to the false Gods of the Heathens, as well as to the true God, who was the God of *Israel*, and in the Scriptures of the old Testament it is equally used for the expressing of the one, as well as the other. For wherever there is occasion therein to speak of those false Gods, it is by the word *Elohim*, that they are there mentioned. And whereas it is said (v. 22.) that *Josiah* *hearkened not to the words of Necho from the mouth of God*, (and from hence it is chiefly infer'd that the Message, which *Necho* sent to *Josiah*, was truly from God) it is to be observed, that the phrase, which we render *from the mouth of God*, is in the *Hebrew* Original *Mippi Elohim*, i. e. from the mouth of *Elohim*, which may be interpreted of the false Gods, as well as of the true God (as has been already said, and much rather in this place of the former, than of the latter. For wherever else (c) thro'

(c) See Deutr. viii. 3. Joshua ix. 14. 1 Kings xiii. 21. 2 Chron. xxxvj. 12. Isaiah i. 20. xl. 5. lviii. 14. lxii. 2. Jer. ix. 12. & xxiii. 16. Micah iv. 4.

the whole *Hebrew* Text of the Holy Scriptures there is mention made of any word coming from the Mouth of God, he is there mentioned by the name *Jehovah*, which determines it to the true God, and this is the only place in the whole *Hebrew* Bible, where in the use of this phrase it is expressed otherwise, that is by the name *Elohim*, and not by the name *Jehovah*, which Change in the phrase in this place is a sufficient proof to me, that there must be here a change in the signification also, and that the word, which is here said to come from the Mouth of *Elohim*, is not the same with the word, which is every where else in the use of this phrase in Scripture said to come from the Mouth of *Jehovah*, but that *Elohim* must in this place signify the false Gods of the *Egyptians*, and that from their false Oracles only *Necho* had this word, which he sent to *Josiah*. For what had he to do with any word from the true God, who knew him not, nor ever worshipped him? or how could any such Revelation come to him, who knew not any of his Prophets, or ever consulted them? And therefore most certainly the word, which is here said to come *Mippi Elohim*, i. e. from the mouth of *Elohim*, must be understood only of *Necho's Elohim*, that is of those false *Egyptian* Gods, whose Oracles he consulted, before he undertook this Expedition, as it was then usual with Heathen Princes on such occasions to consult the false deluding Oracles of the Gods they worshipped. And had it been here *Mippi Jehovah*, i. e. from the Mouth of *Jehovah*, instead of *Mippi Elohim*, considering who sent the Message, it would not have much mended the matter. For *Josiah* would have had no reason to believe it from such a Messenger. When *Sennacherib* came up against *Judah*, he sent *Hezekiah* word, (d) that the Lord (*Jehovah* in the *Hebrew*) said unto him go up against this Land and destroy it. But it was not reckoned a fault in *Hezekiah* that he believed

(d) 2 Kings xviii. 25. Isaiah xxxvi. 19.

him not, neither could it be reckoned a fault in *Josiah* in doing the same. For it is certain that *Sennacherib* in so pretending lyed to King *Hezekiah*, and why might not *Josiah* then have as good reason to conclude that *Necho* in the like pretence might have lyed also unto him? For God used not to send his word to his Servants by such Messengers. But *Necho's* pretence was not so large as *Sennacherib's*. For *Sennacherib* pretended to be sent by *Jehovah* the certain name of the true God, but *Necho* pretended to be sent only by *Elohim*, which may be interpreted of his false *Egyptian* Gods, as well as of the true God. And it seems clear he could mean none other than the former by that word in this Text. And therefore *Josiah* could not be liable to any blame in not hearkening to any words which came from them.

After the Death of *Josiah* (e) the people of the Land took *Jeboahaz* his Son, who was also called *Shallum*, and made him King in his stead. He was much unlike his Father. For he did that which was evil in the sight of the Lord, and therefore he was soon tumbled down from his Throne into a Prison, where he ended his days with misery and disgrace in a strange Land.

For *Pharaoh Necho* (f) having had the good success in his Expedition to beat the *Babylonians* at the *Euphrates*, and having thereon taken *Carchemish*, a great City in those parts, and secured it to himself with a good Garrison, after three months returned again towards *Egypt*, and hearing in his way, that *Jeboahaz* had taken upon him to be King of *Judah* without his consent, (g) he sent for him to *Riblah* in *Syria*, and on his arrival caused him to be put in Chains, and sent him Prisoner into *Egypt*, where he died; and then proceeding on in his way came to *Jerusalem*, where he made (h) *Jehoiakim* another of the

H 4

Sons

(e) 2 Kings xxiii. 31. 2 Chron. xxxvi. 1. (f) Josephus Antiq. lib. 10. c. 6. (g) 2 Kings xxiii. 33. 2 Chron. xxxvi. 3, 4. (h) This *Jehoiakim* was elder Brother to *Jeboahaz*. For the latter was but 23 years old

Sons of *Josiah* King instead of his Brother, and put the Land to an annual Tribute of an (i) hundred Talents of Silver and a Talent of Gold, and after that returned with great Triumph into his own Kingdom.

Herodotus making mention of this Expedition of *Necho's*, and also of the Battel which he fought at *Megiddo* (or *Magdolum* as he calleth it) (k) saith, that after the victory there obtained by him, he took the great City *Cadytis*, which City he afterwards describes to be a mountainous City in *Palestine* of the bigness of *Sardis* in *Lydia*, the chief City of all *Lesser Asia* in those times. By which description this City *Cadytis* could be none other than *Jerusalem*. For that is situated in the Mountains of *Palestine*, and there was then no other City in those parts, which could be equalled to *Sardis*, but that only. And it is certain from Scripture that after this Battle *Necho* did take *Jerusalem*. For he (l) was there when he made *Jehoiakim* King. There is I confess no mention of this name either in the Scriptures, or in *Josephus*. But that it was however called so in the time of *Herodotus* by the *Syrians* and *Arabians* doth appear from this, that it is called by them and all the Eastern Nations by no other name, but one of the same Original, and the same Signification, even to this day. For *Jerusalem* is a name now altogether as strange among them, as *Cadytis* is to us. They (m) all call it by the name of *Alkuds*, which signifies the same that *Cadytis* doth, that is, *The Holy*. For from the time that *Solomon* built the Temple at *Jerusalem*, and it was thereby made to all *Israel* the common place of their Religious Worship, this Epithet of *The Holy* was commonly given unto it. And therefore we find it thenceforth called in the sacred writings of the Old

old when the other was 25. 2 Kings xxiii. 31, 36. and yet the people on the death of *Josiah* chose *Jehoahaz* to succeed him. (i) The whole annual Tribute as here taxed came to 52200l. of our Money. (k) *Herodot.* lib. 2. (l) 2 Chron. xxxvi. 3. (m) *Golii Notæ ad Alfragnum*, p. 137. *Sandys's Travels*, Book 3. p. 155. *Baudrandi Geographia* sub voce *Hierosolyma*.

Testament (n) *Air Hakkodesh*, i. e. The City of Holiness or the Holy City, and so also (nn) in several places in the *New Testament*. And this same Title they gave it in their Coins. For the Inscription of their Shekles (many of which are still extant) was (o) *Jerusalem Kedushab*, i. e. *Jerusalem* the holy, and this coin going current among the neighbouring Nations, especially after the *Babylonish* Captivity had made a dispersion of that people over all the East, it carry'd this name with it among them, and they from hence called this City by both names *Jerusalem Kedushab*, and at length for shortness sake *Kedushab* only, and the *Syrians* (who in their Dialect usually turn'd the *Hebrew sh* into *th*) *Kedutha*. And the *Syriac* in the time of *Herodotus* being the only Language, that was then spoken in *Palestine* (the *Hebrew* having been no more used there, or any where else, as a vulgar language, after the *Babylonish* Captivity) he found it when he travelled thorough that Country to be called there in the *Syriac* Dialect *Kedutha*, from whence by giving it a *Greek* Termination he made it in the *Greek* Language *Kádutyis* or *Cadytis* in his History, which he wrote about the time that *Nehemiah* ended his twelve years Government at *Jerusalem*. And for the same reason, that it was called *Kedusha* or *Kedutha* in *Syria* and *Palestine*, the *Arabs* in their Language called it (p) *Bait Almokdes*, i. e. the Holy Buildings, or the Holy City, and often with another adjective of the same Root and the same signification *Bait Alkuds*, and at length simply *Alkuds*, i. e. the Holy, by which name only (q) it is now called by the *Turks*, *Arabs*, and all other Nations of the *Mahometan* Religion in those parts. And that it may not look strange to prove an ancient name by the modern name, which

(n) *Nehemiah* xi. 1. and 18. *Isaiah* xlviii. 2. and *Chap.* lii. 1. *Daniel* ix. 24. (nn) *Matt.* iv. 5. and *chap.* xxvii. 53. *Revel.* xxi. 2.
 (o) See *Lightfoot's Works*, Vol. 1. p. 497. and Vol. 2. p. 303. and *Walton's Apparatu before the Polyglot Bible*, p. 36, 37. (p) *Golii Notæ ad Alfraganum*, p. 137. (q) *Sandys's Travels*, Book 3. p. 155. *Baudrandi Geographia sub voce Hierosolyma*.

is now given that place, it is necessary I acquaint the Reader, that the *Arabs* being the ancientest Nation in the World, (who have never been by any Conquest dispossessed, or driven out of their Country, but have there always remained in a continued descent from the first Planters of it even to this Day) and being also as little given to make Changes in their manners and usages, as they are as to their Country, they have still retained those same names of places, which were at first given them, and on their getting the Empire of the East restored them again to many of them, after they had been for several ages extinct by the intermediate changes that had hapned in them. And thus (r) the ancient Metropolis of *Egypt*, which from *Mezraim* the Son of *Ham* the first planter of that Country after the Flood was called *Mefri*, and afterwards for many Ages had the name of *Memphis*, was on the *Arabs* making themselves masters of *Egypt* again called *Mefri*, and hath retained that name ever since, tho' by the building of *Cairo* on the other side of the *Nile* over against it (for *Mefri* stands on the west side of that River) that ancient, and once noble City, is now brought in a manner to desolation. And for the same reason the City of *Tyrus*, which was anciently called (s) *Zor* or *Zur* (from whence the whole Country of *Syria* had its name) hath since it fell into the hands of the *Arabs* on the erecting of their Empire in the East been again called (t) *Sor*, and is at this day known by no other name in those Parts. And by the same means the City of *Palmyra* hath again recovered the old name of *Tadmor*, by which it was called (tt) in the time of *Solomon*, and is now known in the East by no other name. And abundance of other like instances might

(r) Bocharti Phaleg. Part. I. lib. 4. c. 24. Golii Notæ ad Alfraganum p. 152, 153. &c. (s) So it is called in the Original Hebrew Text of the Old Testament wherever there is mention of this City therein. (t) Golii Notæ ad Alfraganum, p. 130 and 131. Baudrandi Geographia sub voce *Tyrus*. Thevenot's Travels Part I. Book II. Ch. 60. p. 220. (tt) 1 Kings ix. 18. 2 Chron. viii. 4.

be given in the East to this purpose. And the like may be found nearer home. For it is well known that the *Welsh* in their language do still call all the Cities in *England* by the old *British* Names, by which they were called 1300 years ago, before the *Saxons* dispossessed them of this Country, and should they recover it again, and here get the dominion over it, as formerly, no doubt they would again restore to all places here the same *British* names, by which they still call them.

Jehoiakim on his taking on him the Kingdom followed the Example of his Brother (*u*) in doing that which was evil. For he went on in his steps to relax all the good Order and Discipline of his Father, as the other had done, and the People (who never went heartily into that good King's Reformation) gladly laying hold hereof did let themselves loose to the full bent of their own depraved Inclinations, and to run into all manner of Iniquity; whereon the Prophet *Jeremiah* being sent of God (*w*) first went into the King's House, and there proclaimed God's Judgments against him and his family, if he went on in his Iniquities, and did not amend and repent of them. And after that (*x*) he went up into the Temple, and there spoke to all the People, that came up thither to worship, after the same manner, declaring unto them, that if they would turn from their evil ways, God would turn from his wrath, and repent of the evil, which he purposed to bring upon them. But that if they would not hearken unto him to walk in the Law of God, and keep his commandments, then the wrath of God should be poured out upon them, and both that City and the Temple should be brought to utter desolation. Which angring the Priests, that then attended in the Temple, they laid hold of him, and brought him before the King's Council to have

Anno 609.
Jehoiakim 1.

(*u*) 2 Kings xxiii. 37. 2 Chron. xxxvi. 5. (*w*) Jer. xxii.
(*x*) Jer. xxvi.

him put to death. But *Abikam* one of the chief Lords of the Council so befriended *Jeremiah*, that he brought him off, and got him discharged by the general Suffrage not only of the Princes, but also of all the Elders of the people, that were then present. This *Abikam* was (y) the Father of *Gedaliah*, that was afterwards made Governor of the Land under the *Chaldeans*, and the Son of *Shaphan* the Scribe (who was (z) chief Minister of state under King *Josiah*) and Brother (a) to *Gemariah*, (b) *Elasah*, and (c) *Jaazaniah*, who were great Men in those days, and Members also of the Council with him, and therefore in conjunction with them he had a great Interest there, which he made use of on this occasion to deliver the Prophet from that mischief, which was intended against him.

But (d) *Uriah*, another Prophet of the Lord, who had this same year prophesied after the same manner, could not so come off. For *Jehoiakim* was so incensed against him for it, that he sought to put him to death, whereon *Uriah* fled into *Egypt*, but this did not secure him from his revenge, for he sent into *Egypt* after him, and having procur'd him to be there seized brought him up from thence, and slew him at *Jerusalem*, which became a further enhancing of his iniquity, and also of God's wrath against him for it.

About the same time also prophesied the Prophets *Habbakuk* and *Zephaniah*, who being called to the Prophetick Office in the reign of *Josiah*, continued (as seems most likely) to this time. For they prophesied the same things that *Jeremiah* did, and upon the same occasion, (e) that is destruction and desolation upon *Judah* and *Jerusalem*, because of the many heinous Sins they were then guilty of. *Zephaniah* doth

(y) 2 Kings xxv. 22. (z) 2 Kings xxii. (a) Jer. xxxvi. 10.
 (b) Jer. xxix. 3. (c) Ezek. viii. 11. From which place it is inferred that
Jaazaniah was then President of the Sanhedrin. (d) Jer. xxvi. 20—23.
 (e) *Habbakuk* i. 1 — 11. *Zephaniah* i. 1 — 18.

not name the *Chaldeans*, who were to be the Executioners of this wrath of God upon them; but (f) *Habbakuk* doth. As to *Habbakuk*, neither the time in which he lived, nor the Parents from whom he was descended, are any where named in Scripture. But he prophesying the coming of the *Chaldeans* in the same manner as *Jeremiah* did, this gives reason to conjecture that he lived in the same time. Of *Zephaniah* it is directly said, (g) that he prophesied in the time of *Josiah*, and in his Pedigree, (which is also given us) his Father's Grandfather is called (g) *Hezekiah*, which some taking to be King *Hezekiah* do therefore reckon this Prophet to have been of Royal Descent.

In the third year of *Jehoiakim* (h) *Nabopolassar* King of *Babylon* finding that on *Necho's* taking of *Carchemish* all *Syria* and *Palestine* had revolted to him, and that he Anno 607.
Jehoiakim 3.
being old and infirm was unable to march thither himself to reduce them, he took *Nebuchadnezzar* his Son into partnership with him in the Empire, and (i) sent him with an Army into those parts, and from hence the *Jewish* Computation of the years of *Nebuchadnezzar's* reign begins, that is from the end of the third year of *Jehoiakim*. For it was about the end of that year that this was done, and therefore according to the *Jews* (k) the fourth year of *Jehoiakim* was the first year of *Nebuchadnezzar*. But according to the *Babylonians* his reign is not reckoned to begin till after his father's death, which happened two years afterwards, and both Computations being found in Scripture, it is necessary to say so much here for the reconciling of them.

In the fourth year of *Jehoiakim*, *Nebuchadnezzar*

(f) Hab. i. 5. (g) Zephaniah i. 1. (h) Berosus apud Josephum Antiq. lib. 10. c. 11. & contra Apionem lib. 1. (i) Dan. i. 1. (k) Jer. xxv. 1. Which same fourth year was the 23d from the 13th of Josiah when Jeremiah first began to prophesy, v. 3.

(l) having

Anno 606.

Jehoiakim 4.

(l) having beaten the Army of *Necho* King of *Egypt* at the *Euphrates*, and retaken *Carchemish*, marched towards *Syria* and *Palestine*, to recover those Provinces again to the *Babylonish* Empire; on whose approach (m) the *Rechabites*, who according to the Institution of *Jonadab* the Son of *Rechab*, their Father, had always abstained from wine, and hitherto only liv'd in Tents, finding no security from this Invasion in the open Country retired for their safety to *Jerusalem*, where was transacted between them and *Jeremiah* what we find related in the thirty fifth Chapter of his Prophecies.

This very (n) same year *Jeremiah* prophesied of the coming of *Nebuchadnezzar* against *Judah* and *Jerusalem*, that the whole Land should be delivered into his Hands, and that a Captivity of seventy years continuance should after that ensue upon the people of the *Jews*, and he also delivered several other Prophecies of the many Calamities and woful Desolations, that were then ready to be brought upon them, intending thereby if possible to bring them to repentance, that so the wrath of God might be diverted from them.

But all this working nothing upon their hardened and obdurate hearts, God commanded him (o) to collect together, and write in a Roll all the words of Prophecy, which had been spoken by him against *Israel*, and against *Judah*, and against the Nations, from the 13th year of *Josiah* (when he was first called to the prophetick Office) to that time; whereon *Jeremiah* called to him *Baruch* the Son of *Neriah*, a chief disciple of his, who being a ready scribe wrote from his mouth all as God had commanded, and then went with the Roll, which he had thus written, up into the Temple, and there read it in the hearing of all the people on the great fast of the Expiation,

(l) Jer. xlv. 1. (m) Jeremiah xxxv. 6 --- 11. (n) Jeremiah xxv.
(o) Jeremiah xxxvi.

when all *Judah* and *Jerusalem* were assembled together at that Solemnity. For *Jeremiah* being then shut up in prison for his former Prophecy could not go up thither himself, and therefore by God's command *Baruch* was sent to do it in his stead; and at his first reading of the Roll, whether it were that *Jehoiakim* and his Princes were then absent to take care of the borders of the Kingdom, which *Nebuchadnezzar* was then just ready to invade, or that amidst the distractions, which usually happen on such impending dangers, mens minds were otherwise engaged, no resentments were at that time expressed either against the Prophet or his Disciple on this occasion. But *Baruch* being very much affrighted and dismayed at the threats of the Roll, which he had thus wrote and publickly read, the word of Prophecy, which we have in the 45th Chapter of *Jeremiah*, was sent from God on purpose to comfort him, and a promise is therein given him, that amidst all the calamities, destructions, and desolations, which according to the words of the Roll should be certainly brought upon *Judah* and *Jerusalem*, he should be sure to find a deliverance; for that none of them should reach him, but God would give him his life for a prey in all places wheresoever he should go.

The great Fast of the Expiation, wherein *Baruch* read the Roll, as is above related, was annually kept by the *Jews* (p) on the tenth day of the Month *Tisri*, which answers to our *September*. Immediately after that *Nebuchadnezzar* invaded *Judaea*, and having laid Siege to *Jerusalem* (q) made himself Master of it in the ninth Month called *Cisleu* (which answers to our *November*) on the 18th day of that Month (for on that day is still kept by the *Jews* an annual Fast in commemoration of it even to this day) and having then taken *Jehoiakim* Prisoner he put him in Chains to carry him to *Babylon*. But he having (r) humbled

(p) Leviticus xvi. 29. & xxiii. 27. (q) Dan. i. 2. 2 Chron. xxxvi. 6.
(r) 2 Kings xxiv. 1.

himself to King *Nebuchadnezzar*, and submitted to become his Tributary, and thereon sworn fealty to him, he was again restored to his Kingdom, and *Nebuchadnezzar* marched from *Jerusalem* for the farther prosecuting of his victories against the *Egyptians*.

But before he removed from *Jerusalem*, he had caused great numbers of the people to be sent Captives to *Babylon*, and particularly (s) gave order to *Asbpenaz* the Master of his Eunuchs, that he should make choice out of the children of the Royal Family, and of the Nobility of the Land, such as he found to be of the fairest countenance, and the quickest parts, to be carried to *Babylon*, and there made Eunuchs in his Palace. Whereby was fulfilled the word of the Lord spoken (t) by *Isaiah* the Prophet to *Hezekiah* King of *Judah* above an hundred years before. At the same time also he (u) carried away a great part of the vessels of the House of the Lord to put them in the House of *Bel* his God at *Babylon*. And therefore the people being thus carried into Captivity, the sons of the Royal Family and of the Nobility of the Land made Eunuchs and Slaves in the Palace of the King of *Babylon*, the vessels of the Temple carried thither, and the King made a Tributary, and the whole Land now brought into vassalage under the *Babylonians*, from hence must be reckoned the beginning of the 70 years of the *Babylonish* Captivity (w) foretold by the Prophet *Jeremiah*, and the fourth year of *Jeboiakim* must be the first year in that Computation.

Among the number of the Children, that were carried away in this Captivity by the master of the Eunuchs, were (x) *Daniel*, *Hananiah*, *Misbael*, and *Azariah*. *Daniel* they called *Belteshazzar*, and the other three *Sbadrach*, *Mesbac*, and *Abednego*. Some indeed do place their Captivity some years later, but that is absolutely inconsistent with what is elsewhere said in Scripture. For these Children after their car-

(s) Dan. i. 3. (t) *Isaiah* xxxix. 7. 2 Kings xx. 18. (u) Dan. i. 2.
(w) Jer. xxv. 11. & xxix. 10. (x) Dan. i. 6.

it. After this he reduced all the Provinces and Cities of *Syria* and *Phœnicia*, in which having imployed the greatest part of the year (and a great deal of work it was to do within that time) in the beginning of *October* he came and laid Siege to *Jerusalem*, and about a Month after took the City. And from hence we date the beginning of *Daniel's* servitude, and also the beginning of the seventy years of the *Babylonish* Captivity, and therefore do reckon that year to have been the first of both.

The *Scythians*, who had now for 28 years held all the upper *Asia* (that is the two *Armenias*, *Cappadocia*, *Pontus*, *Colchis*, and *Iberia*,) were this year again (*d*) driven out of it. The *Medes*, whom they had dispossessed of these Provinces, had long endeavoured to recover them by open force, but finding themselves unable to succeed this way they at length accomplished it by Treachery. For under the covert of a Peace (which they had made on purpose to carry on the fraud) they invited the greatest part of them to a Feast, where having made them drunk they slew them all. After which having easily subdued the rest, they recovered from them all that they had lost, and again extended their Empire to the River *Halys*, which had been the ancient borders of it towards the *West*.

After the *Chaldeans* were gone from *Jerusalem*,
Anno 605. *Jehoiakim* instead of being amended by
Jehoiakim 5. those heavy Chastisements, which by
 their hand God had inflicted on him and
 his Kingdom, rather grew worse under them in all
 those ways of wickedness and impiety, which he had
 afore practised; and *Judah* and *Jerusalem* kept pace
 with him herein, to the farther provoking of God's
 wrath, and the hastning of their own Destruction.
 However no means were omitted to reclaim them;
 and *Jeremiah* the Prophet, who was particularly sent
 to them for this purpose, was constantly calling up-

(*d*) Herodorus lib. 1.

on them and exhorting them to turn unto the Lord their God, that so his wrath might be turned from them, and they saved from the destruction, which was coming upon them; of which he ceased not continually to warn them. And they having on the ninth Month, called *Cisleu*, proclaimed a publick fast to be held on the 18th day of the same, because of the Calamity, which they had suffered thereon in the taking of *Jerusalem* by the *Chaldeans* the year foregoing (which hath ever since been annually observed by them in commemoration hereof, as hath been afore said) the Prophet laying hold of this opportunity, when all *Judah* and *Jerusalem* were met together to keep this solemnity, (e) sent *Baruch* again up into the Temple with the Roll of his Prophecies there to read it the second time in the hearing of all of them, making thereby another tryal, if by the terrors of these Prophecies it were possible to fright them into their duty. And it being God's command by the mouth of his Prophet, *Baruch* accordingly went up into the Temple on the said Fast-day, and entering into the Chamber of *Gemariah* the Scribe (which was the Room where the King's Council used to sit in the Temple near the *East Gate* of the same) did there from a window aloft read in the hearing of all the people then gathered together in the Court below all the words of the said Roll; which *Micaiah* the son of *Gemariah*, who was then present, hearing, went immediately to the King's House, and there informed the Lords of the Council of it, whereon they sent for *Baruch*, and caused him to sit down, and read the Roll over to them; at the hearing whereof and the threats therein contained, they being much afrighted inquired of *Baruch* the manner of his writing of it; and being informed, that it was all dictated to him from the mouth of the Prophet, they ordered him to leave the Roll, and depart, advising, that he and *Jeremiah*

(e) Jer. xxxvi. 9, 10, 11, &c.

should immediately go and hide themselves, where no one might find them, and then went in to the King and informed him of all that had passed; whereon he sent for the Roll, and caused it to be read to him; but after he had heard three or four leaves of it, as he was sitting by the fire in the winter Parlor, he took it and cut it with a Penknife, and cast it into the Fire, that was there before him, 'till it was all consumed, notwithstanding some of the Lords of the Council intreated him to the contrary, and immediately thereon issued out an Order to have *Baruch* and *Jeremiah* seiz'd, but having hid themselves, as advised by the Council, they could not be found.

The *Jews* keep an annual Fast even to this day for the burning of this Roll. The day marked for it in their Kalendar is the 29th day of (f) *Cisleu*, eleven days after that, which they keep for that Fast, on which it was read in the Temple. But the reading of the Roll on the fast of the 18th of *Cisleu*, and the burning of it, according to the account given hereof by *Jeremiah*, seem immediately to have followed each other.

After the burning of this Roll another by God's especial command was forthwith written in the same manner from the Mouth of the Prophet by the hand of *Baruch*, wherein was contained all that was in the former Roll, and there were added many other like words, and particularly that Prophecy in respect of *Jehoiakim* and his House, which is for this impious fact in the 30th and 31st verses of the 36th Chapter of *Jeremiah* denounced against them.

In making the Roll to be read twice in the Temple by *Baruch*, I confess I differ from most that have commented upon this place of Scripture. But as the reading of the Roll by *Baruch* is in the 36th Chapter of *Jeremiah* twice related, so it is plain to me, that it was twice done. For in the first relation (g) it is

(f) *Cisleu* is the ninth month in the Jewish year, and answers to our November. (g) Jer. xxxvi. 1.

said to be done in the 4th year of *Jehoiakim*, and in the second (*b*) it is said to be done in the 5th, which plainly denotes two different times. And in the first Relation *Jeremiah* (*i*) is said to be shut up in prison, when the Roll was read; but in the second Relation it plainly appears, he was out of Prison, for (*k*) he was then at full liberty to go out of the way, and hide himself. For these Reasons I take it for certain, that the Roll was twice read, and I have Archbishop *Usher* with me in the same opinion, whose judgment must always be of the greatest weight in such matters.

Nebuchadnezzar after his departure from *Jerusalem* employed all this year in carrying on his war against the *Egyptians*, in which he had that Success, that before the ensuing winter he had driven them out of all *Syria* and *Palestine*, and brought in Subjection to him (*l*) from the River *Euphrates* to the River of *Egypt* all that formerly belonged to the King of *Egypt*, i. e. all *Syria* and *Palestine*. For as the River *Euphrates* was the boundary of *Syria* towards the North East, so the River of *Egypt* was the boundary of *Palestine* towards the South-West. This River of *Egypt*, which is so often mentioned in Scripture as the boundary of the Land of *Canaan* or *Palestine* towards *Egypt*, was not the *Nile*, as many suppose, but a small River which running thorough the Desert, that lies between these two Countries, was anciently reckoned the common boundary of both. And thus far the Land reached, which was promised to the seed of *Abraham* (*Gen.* xv. 18.) and was afterwards by lot divided among them, *Joshua* xv. 4.

Towards the end of the 5th year of *Jehoiakim* dyed *Nabopolassar* King of *Babylon*, and Father of *Nebuchadnezzar*, after he had reigned (*m*) one and twenty years, which *Nebuchadnezzar* being informed of (*n*)

(*b*) *Jer.* xxxvi. 9. (*i*) *Jer.* xxxvi. 5. (*k*) *Jer.* xxxvi. 26.

(*l*) 2 *Kings* xxiv. 7. (*m*) Canon *Ptolemæi*. (*n*) *Berosus* apud *Josephum* Antiq. lib. 10. c. 11. & contra *Apionem* lib. 1.

he immediately with a few only of his followers hastned through the Defart the nearest way to *Babylon*, leaving the gross of his army with the Prisoners, and Prey, to be brought after him by his Generals.

On his arrival at the Palace he received the Government from the hands of those, who had carefully reserved it for him, and thereon succeeded his Father in the whole Empire, which contained *Chaldea*, *Affyria*, *Arabia*, *Syria*, and *Palestine*, and reigned over it according to *Ptolemy* forty three years, the first of which begins from the *January* following, which is the *Babylonish* account, from which the *Jewish* account differs two years, as reckoning his reign from the time he was admitted to be partner with his Father. From hence we have a double computation of the years of his reign, the *Jewish* and the *Babylonish*; *Daniel* follows the latter, but all other parts of Scripture, that make mention of him, the other.

In the seventh year of *Jehoiakim*, which was the second year of *Nebuchadnezzar* according to the *Babylonish* account, and the fourth according to the *Jewish*, *Daniel* (o) revealed unto *Nebuchadnezzar* his Dream, and also unfolded to him the Interpretation of it, in the manner as we have it at large related in the second Chapter of *Daniel*, whereon he was advanced to great Honour, being made chief of the Governours over all the wise Men of *Babylon*, and also chief Ruler over the whole Province of *Babylon*, and one of the chief Lords of the Council, who always continued in the King's Court, he being then about the age of two and twenty. And in his Prosperity he was not forgetful of his three Companions, who had been brought to *Babylon* with him, *Shadrach*, *Mesbach*, and *Abednego*, but having spoken to the King in their behalf, procured that they were preferred to places of honourable trust under him in the Province of *Babylon*. These

(o) *Daniel* ii.

afterwards made themselves very signally known to the King, and also to the whole Empire of *Babylon*, by their constancy to their Religion in refusing to worship the golden Image which *Nebuchadnezzar* had set up, and by the wonderful deliverance which God wrought for them thereon, which deservedly recommending them to the King's highest regard, they were thereon much higher advanced. The whole History whereof is at full related in the third Chapter of *Daniel*.

The same year *Jehoiakim*, after he had served the King of *Babylon* three years, (p) rebelled against him, and refusing to pay any more Tribute, renewed his confederacy with *Pharaoh Necho* King of *Egypt* in opposition to him. Whereon *Nebuchadnezzar*, not being then at leisure by reason of other engagements to come himself and chastise him, sent orders to all his Lieutenants and Governours of Provinces in those parts to make war upon him, which brought upon *Jehoiakim* inroads and invasions from every quarter, (q) the *Ammonites*, the *Moabites*, the *Syrians*, the *Arabians*, and all the other Nations round him, who had subjected themselves to the *Babylonish* Yoke, infesting him with incursions, and harassing him with depredations on every side. And thus they continued to do for three years together, till at length in the eleventh year of his reign all parties joyning together against him (r) they shut him up in *Jerusalem*, where in the prosecution of the Siege having taken him prisoner in some sally (it may be supposed) which he made upon them, they slew him with the sword, and then cast out his dead body into the high way without one of the Gates of *Jerusalem*, allowing it no other burial, (s) as the Prophet *Jeremiah* had foretold, than that of an Ass, that is to be cast forth into a

Anno 599.

Jehoiakim 11.

(p) 2 Kings xxiv. 1. (q) 2 Kings xxiv. 2, 10. (r) 2 Kings xxiv. 18, 19. xxxvi. 30. (s) Jeremiah xxii. 18, 19. xxxvi. 30.

place of the greatest contempt there to rot and be consumed to dust in the open air.

The year before (t) dyed his confederate, on whom he chiefly depended, *Pharaoh Necho* King of *Egypt*, after he had reigned sixteen Years, and *Psamis* his Son succeeded him in the Kingdom.

Jehoiakim being dead, (u) *Jehoiachin* his Son (who is also called *Jeconiah*, and *Comiah*) reigned in his stead, who doing evil in the sight of the Lord, in the

Anno 598.

Jehoiachin.

Zedekiah 1.

same manner as his Father had done, this provoked (w) a very bitter declaration of God's wrath against him by the mouth of the Prophet *Jeremiah*, and it was as bitterly executed upon him. For after *Jehoiakim's* death, the servants of *Nebuchadnezzar* (that is his Lieutenants, and Governours of the Provinces, that were under his subjection in those parts) still (x) continued to block up *Jerusalem*, and after three months *Nebuchadnezzar* himself came thither in person with his Royal Army, and caused the place to be begirt with a close Siege on every side, whereon *Jehoiachin* finding himself unable to defend it went out to *Nebuchadnezzar* with his Mother and his Princes and Servants, and delivered himself into his hands. But hereby he obtained no other favour, than to save his Life. For being immediately put in chains, he was carried to *Babylon*, and there continued shut up in Prison till the death of *Nebuchadnezzar*, which was full seven and thirty years.

Nebuchadnezzar having hereon made himself Master of *Jerusalem*, (y) took thence all the Treasures of the House of the Lord, and the Treasures of the King's House, and cut in pieces the vessels of Gold, which *Solomon* King of *Israel* had made in the Temple of the Lord, and carried them to *Babylon*, and he also carryed thither with him a vast

(t) Herodotus lib. 2.

(u) 2 Kings xxiv. 6. 2 Chron. xxxvi. 9.

(w) Jeremiah xxii. 24 — 30.

(x) 2 Kings xxiv. 10, 11.

(y) 2 Kings xxiv. 13 — 16.

number of Captives, *Jehoiachin* the King, his Mother, and his Wives, and his Officers, and Princes, and all the mighty men of valour, even to the number of ten thousand men out of *Jerusalem* only, besides the Smyths, and the Carpenters, and other Artificers; and out of the rest of the Land of the mighty men seven thousand, and of the Crafts-men and Smyths one thousand, besides three thousand twenty and three (z) which had been carried away the year before out of the open Country, before the Siege of *Jerusalem* was begun. With the mighty men of valour he recruited his Army, and the Artificers he employ'd in the carrying on of his building at *Babylon*, of which we shall speak hereafter.

In this Captivity (a) was carried away to *Babylon* *Ezekiel* the Prophet the Son of *Buzi* of the House of *Aaron*, and therefore the *Æra* whereby he reckons throughout all his Prophecies is from this Captivity.

After this great carrying away of the *Jews* into Captivity (b) the poorer sort of the people being still left in the Land, *Nebuchadnezzar* made *Mattaniah* the son of *Josiah*, and unkle of *Jehoiachin*, King over them, taking of him a solemn Oath to be true and faithful unto him. And to engage him the more to be so, he changed his name from *Mattaniah* to *Zedekiah*, which signifyeth *the justice of the Lord*, intending by this name to put him continually in mind of the vengeance, which he was to expect from the justice of the Lord his God, if he violated that fidelity, which he had in his name sworn unto him.

Zedekiah being thus made King reigned eleven years in *Jerusalem*, but his ways being evil in the sight of the Lord, as were those of his Nephew and Brothers, that reigned before him, he did thereby so far fill up the measure of the iniquities of his fore-

(z) Jer. lii. 28.
2 Chron. xxxvi. 10.

(a) Ezekiel x. 1.

(b) 2 Kings xxiv. 17.

fathers, that they at length drew down upon *Judah* and *Jerusalem* that terrible destruction, in which his reign ended.

And thus was concluded the second war, which *Nebuchadnezzar* had with the *Jews*. Three years he managed it by his Lieutenants and Governors of the neighbouring Provinces of his Empire. In the fourth year he came himself in person, and put an end to it in the Captivity of *Jehoiachin*, and the taking of *Jerusalem*. What hindered him from coming sooner is not said. Only it appears, that in the tenth year of *Jehoiakim* he was engaged in an arbitration between the *Medes* and *Lydians*. The occasion was this. After (c) the *Medes* had recovered all the upper *Asia* out of the hands of the *Scythians*, and again extended their Borders to the River *Halys*, which was the common boundary between them and the *Lydians*, it was not long before there hapned a war between these two Nations, which was managed for five years together with various success. In the sixth year they engaged each other with the utmost of their strength, intending to make that Battel decisive of the quarrel that was between them. But in the midst of it, while the fortune of the day seemed to hang in an equal Ballance between them, there hapned an Eclipse, which overspread both Armies with darkness, whereon being frightned with what had hapned they both desisted from fighting any longer, and agreed to refer the Controversy to the Arbitration of two Neighbouring Princes. The *Lydians* chose *Siennesis* King of *Cilicia*, and the *Medes* (d) *Nebuchadnezzar* King of *Babylon*, who agreed a Peace between them on the Terms, that *Astyages*, Son to *Cyaxares* King of *Media*, should take to wife *Ariena* the daughter of *Halyattis* King of the *Lydians*, of which marriage within a year after was born *Cyaxares*, who is called *Darius* the Median in the Book of *Daniel*. This E-

(c) Herodotus lib. 2.
netus.

(d) He is by Herodotus lib. 1. called Laby-

clipse was foretold by *Thales* the *Milesian*, and it hapned on the 20th of *September* according to the *Julian* account, in the 147th year of *Nabonassar*, and in the ninth of the reign of *Jehoiakim* King of *Judah*, which was the year before Christ 601.

The same year that *Cyaxares* was born to *Astyages*, he gave his daughter *Mandana*, whom he had by a former wife, in marriage to *Cambyses* King of *Persia*, of whom the next year after (which was the last year of *Jehoiakim*) was born *Cyrus*, the famous founder of the *Persian* Monarchy, and the restorer of the *Jews* to their Country, their Temple, and their former State.

Jehoiachin being thus carried into Captivity, and *Zedekiah* settled in the Throne, *Jeremiah* had in (e) a vision under the Type of two Baskets of Figs fore-shewn unto him the restoration, which God would again give to them, who were carried into Captivity, and the misery and desolation which should befall them, with their King, that were still in the Land; That the Captivity of the former should become a means of preservation unto them, while the Liberty, which the others were left in, should serve only to lead them to their utter ruin, as accordingly it be-fel them in the destruction of *Jerusalem*, and the utter devastation of the Land, which hapned a few years afterwards.

The same year God also foreshewed to *Jeremiah* the confusion which he would bring upon (f) *Elam* (a Kingdom lying upon the River *Ulai* Eastward beyond the *Tigris*) and the Restoration which he would afterwards give thereto, which accordingly came to pass. For it was (g) conquered by *Nebuchadnezzar*, and subjected to him in the same manner as *Judah* was. But afterwards joyning with *Cyrus*, it helped to conquer and subdue the *Babylonians*, who had be-

(e) *Jeremiah* xxiv. (f) *Jeremiah* xlix. 34 — 39.

(g) *Xenophon* *Cyropæd.* lib. 6.

fore conquered them, and (b) *Sbusban*, which was the Chief City of that Province, was thenceforth made the Metropolis of the *Persian* Empire, and had the Throne of the Kingdom placed in it.

After the Departure of *Nebuchadnezzar* out of *Judaea* and *Syria*, *Zedekiah* having settled himself in the Kingdom, (bb) the Kings of the *Ammonites*, and of the *Moabites*, and of the *Edomites*, and of the *Zidonians*, and the *Tyrians*, and of the other Neighbouring Nations, sent their Ambassadors to *Jerusalem* to congratulate *Zedekiah* on his accession to the Throne, and then proposed to him a League against the King of *Babylon*, for the shaking off his Yoke, and the hindring of him from more returning into those parts. Whereon *Jeremiah* by the command of God made him Yokes and Bonds, and sent them by the said Ambassadors to their respective Masters with this Message from God, that God had given all their Countries unto the King of *Babylon*, and that they should serve him, and his Son, and his Son's Son, and that if they would submit to his Yoke, and become obedient to him, it should be well with them, and their Land; but if otherwise, they should be consumed and destroyed before him. And he spake also to King *Zedekiah* according to the same words, which had that influence on him, that he did not then enter into the League, that was proposed to him by the Ambassadors of those Princes. But afterwards when it was farther strengthened by the joyning of the *Egyptians*, and other Nations in it, and he and his people began to be tired with the heavy burden and oppression of the *Babylonish* Domination over them, he also was drawn into this confederacy, which ended in the absolute ruin both of him and his Kingdom, as will be hereafter related.

(b) Strabo lib. 15. p. 727.

(bb) Jeremiah xxvii.

Zedekiah about the second year of his reign (i) sent *Elasah* the son *Shaphan*, and *Gemariah* the son of *Hilkiah*, to *Babylon* on an Embassy Anno 597.
Zedekiah 2. By them *Jeremiah* wrote a letter to the *Jews* of the Captivity in *Babylon*. The occasion of which was, *Ahab* the Son of *Kilaiab*, and *Zedekiah* the son of *Maefaiab*, two of the Captivity among the *Jews* at *Babylon*, taking upon them to be Prophets sent to them from God, fed them with lying Prophecies, and false promises of a speedy restoration, whereon they neglected to make any settlements in the places assigned them for their Habitation, either by building of Houses, cultivating their Land, marrying of wives, or doing any thing else for their own Interest and welfare in the Country where they were carried, out of a vain expectation of a speedy return. To remedy this evil *Jeremiah* wrote to them to let them know, that they were deceived by those who made them entertain such false hopes, that by the appointment of God their captivity at *Babylon* was to last seventy years: And those who remained in *Judah* and *Jerusalem* should be so far from being able to effect any restoration for them, that God would speedily send against them the sword, the famine, and the pestilence, for the consuming of the greatest part of them, and scatter the rest over the face of the Earth, to be a curse, and an astonishment, and an hissing, and a reproach among the Nations, whither he would drive them. And therefore he exhorts them to provide for themselves in the Country, whither they are carried, as settled Inhabitants of the same, and comport themselves there according to all the duties, which belong to them as such, without expecting any return, 'till the time that God had appointed. And as to their false Prophets, who had prophesied a lie unto them, he denounced God's curse against them in a speedy and fearful destruction, which accordingly was soon

(i) *Jeremiah* xxix.

after executed upon them. For *Nebuchadnezzar* finding that they disturbed the People by their vain Prophecies, and hindred them from making settlements for themselves in the places where he had planted them, caused them to be seized and roasted to death in the fire. The (k) latter *Jews* say, that these two men were the two Elders, who would have corrupted *Susanna*, and that *Nebuchadnezzar* commanded them to be burnt for this reason. The whole foundation of this conceit is, that *Jeremiah* in the 23d verse of the chapter, where he writes hereof, accuseth them for committing adultery with their Neighbours wives, from whence they conjecture all the rest.

These Letters being read to the people of the Captivity at *Babylon*, such as were loath to be dispossessed of their vain hopes were much offended at them, and therefore *Semaiah* the *Nebelamite*, another false pretender to prophecy among them, writing their as well as his own sentiments hereof, sent back letters by the same Ambassadors directing them to *Zephaniah* the son of *Maaseiah* the second Priest, and to all the Priests, and People at *Jerusalem*, wherein he complained of *Jeremiah* for writing the said letters, and required them to rebuke him for the same; which letters being read to *Jeremiah*, the word of God came unto him, which denounced a very severe punishment upon *Semaiah* for the same.

In the fourth year of *Zedekiah*, and the fifth month of that year, *Hananiah* the son of *Azur* of *Gibeon*, (l) took upon him to prophecy falsely in the name of the Lord, that within two full years God would bring back all the vessels of the House of the Lord, and King *Jechoniah*, and all the Captives again to *Jerusalem*; whereon the word of the Lord came to *Jeremiah* concerning *Hananiah*, that seeing he had spoken to the people of *Judah* in the name of the Lord, who sent him not,

(k) Vide Gemaram in Sanhedrin.

(l) *Jeremiah* xxviii.

and had made them thereby to trust in a Lye, he should be smitten of God, and dye, before the year should expire, and accordingly he died the same year in the seventh month, which was within two months after.

The same year *Jeremiah* had revealed unto him the Prophecies, which we have in the 50th and 51st Chapters of *Jeremiah*, concerning God's Judgments which were to be executed upon *Chaldea* and *Babylon* by the *Medes* and *Persians*. All which *Jeremiah* wrote in a Book, and (m) delivered it to *Seraiah* the son of *Neriah*, and Brother of *Baruch*, who was then sent to *Babylon* by *Zedekiah*, commanding him, that when he should come to *Babylon*, he should there read the same upon the banks of *Euphrates*, and that, when he should have there made an end of reading it, he should bind a stone to it, and cast it into the midst of the River, to denote thereby, that as that should sink, so should *Babylon* also sink, and never rise any more; which hath since been fully verif'd, about two thousand years having now passed, since *Babylon* hath been wholly desolated, and without an Inhabitant.

Baruch seemeth to have gone with his Brother in this journey to *Babylon*. For he is (n) said in the Apocryphal Book, that bears his name, to have read that Book at *Babylon*, in the hearing of King *Jechoniah* or *Jehoiachin*, and of the Elders and people of the *Jews* then at *Babylon* on the fifth year after the taking of *Jerusalem* by the *Chaldeans*, which can be understood of no other taking of it, than that wherein *Jehoiachin* was made a Captive. For after the last taking of it, in the eleventh of *Zedekiah*, *Baruch* could not be in *Babylon*. For after that he went into *Egypt* with *Jeremiah*, from whence it is not likely that he did ever return. And farther it is said in this very Book of *Baruch*, that after the reading of his Book as aforesaid a Collection was made at *Baby-*

(m) *Jeremiah* li. 59—64.

(n) *Baruch* i. 1—4.

ion of money, which was sent to *Jerusalem* to *Joachim* the High-Priest the son of *Hilkiah* the son of *Shallum*, and to the Priests, and to all the People, that were found with him at *Jerusalem*, to buy burnt-offerings, and sin-offerings, and Incense, and to prepare the Mincha, and to offer upon the Altar of the Lord their God, nothing of which could be true after the last taking of *Jerusalem* by the *Chaldeans*. For then the City and Temple were burnt and utterly destroyed, and after that there was no High-Priest, Altar, Altar-service, or people to be found at *Jerusalem*, till the return of the *Jews* again thither after the end of their 70 years Captivity. And if there were any such person as *Joachim* (for he is no where else named) since he is here said to be the son of *Hilkiah* the son of *Shallum*, he must have been the unkle of *Seraiah*, who was High-Priest at the burning of the Temple, and grandson to the same *Hilkiah*. And therefore he must have been High-Priest before *Seraiah*, if there were any such person in that Office at all. For it is certain there were none such in it after him during the life of *Jechoniah*. But of what authority this Book is, or by whom it was written, whether any thing related therein be Historically true, or the whole of it a Fiction, is altogether uncertain. *Grotius* (q) thinks it wholly feigned by some Hellenistical Jew under *Baruch's* name, and so do many others, and it cannot be denied but that they have strong reasons on their side. The subject of the Book is an Epistle sent, or feigned to be sent, by King *Jehoiahchin* and the *Jews* in Captivity with him at *Babylon* to their Brethren the *Jews*, that were still left in *Judah* and *Jerusalem*, with an historical Preface premised, in which it is related, how *Baruch* being then at *Babylon*, did in the name of the said King and the people by their appointment draw up the said Epistle, and afterwards read it to them for their approbation; and how that the collection being then made, which

(q) In Comment. ad Baruch.

is above mentioned; the Epistle with the money was sent to *Jerusalem*. There are three Copies of it, one in *Greek*, and the other two in *Syriac*, whereof one agreeth with the *Greek*, but the other very much differs from it. But in what language it was originally written, or whether one of these be not the Original, or which of them may be so, is what no one can say. *Jerom* (r) rejected it wholly, because it is not to be found among the *Jews*, and calls the Epistle annexed to it *Ψευδοεγραφον*, i. e. a false or feigned writing. The most that can be said for it is, that *Cyril of Jerusalem*, and the *Laodicean Council* held *Anno Domini* 364, both name *Baruch* among the Canonical Books of Holy Scripture. For in both the Catalogues which are given us by them of these Canonical Books, are these words *Jeremias cum Baruch Lamentationibus & Epistola*, i. e. *Jeremiah with Baruch the Lamentations and the Epistle*; whereby may seem to be meant the Prophecies of *Jeremiah*, the Lamentations of *Jeremiah*, the Book of *Baruch* with the Epistle of *Jeremiah* at the end of it, as they are all laid together in the vulgar *Latin* Edition of the Bible. The answer given hereto is, that these words were intended by them to express no more than *Jeremiah's* Prophecies and Lamentations only, that by the Epistle is meant none other, than the Epistle in the 29th Chapter of *Jeremiah*, and that *Baruch's* name is added only because of the part which he bore in collecting all these together, and adding the last Chapter to the Book of his Prophecies, which is supposed to be *Baruch's*, because the Prophecies of *Jeremiah* end with the Chapter before, that is the 51st, as it is positively said in the last words of it. And it must be said, that since neither in *St. Cyril*, nor in the *Laodicean Council*, any of the other *Apocryphal* Books are named, it is very unlikely, that by the name of *Baruch* in either of them should be meant the *Apocryphal* Book so named, which hath the least

(r) In præfatione ad *Jeremiam*.

pretence of any of them to be Canonical, as it appeared by the difficulty which (s) the *Trentine* Fathers found to make it so.

In the fifth year of *Zedekiah*, which was also the fifth year of *Jehoiachin's* Captivity, and the ^{Anno 594.} 30th from the great Reformation made in ^{Zedek. 5.} the 18th year of King *Josiah*, (t) *Ezekiel* was called of God to be a Prophet among the *Jews* of the Captivity. And this same year he saw the vision of the four Cherubims, and the four wheels, which is related in the first Chapter of his Prophecies. The same year were also revealed unto him (u) the 390 years of God's utmost forbearance of the House of *Israel*, and the 40 years of God's utmost forbearance of the House of *Judah*, and the judgment, which after that God would inflict upon both, as the whole is contained in the 4th, 5th, 6th, and 7th Chapters of his Prophecies.

In the same year (w) died *Cyaxares* King of *Media*, after he had reigned 40 years, and *Astyages* his son, who in scripture is called *Ahasuerus*, reigned in his stead.

In the same year (x) died also *Psammiss* King of *Egypt* in an Expedition, which he made against the *Ethiopians*; and *Apries* his Son, the same who is in Scripture called *Pharaoh Hophra*, succeeded him in that Kingdom, and reigned twenty five years.

In the same year *Ezekiel* being in a vision was carried to *Jerusalem*, and there shewn all the several sorts of Idolatry, which were practis'd by the *Jews* in that place, and had revealed unto him the punishments, which God would inflict upon them for those abominations; and this makes up the subject of the 8th, 9th, 10th and 11th Chapters of his Prophecies. But at the same time God promised to those (y) of the Captivity, who avoiding these Abominations

(s) *The History of Trent. Book II. p. 144.* (t) *Ezekiel i. 1, 2, 3, &c.* (u) *Ezek. iv. 4, 5, 6, &c.* (w) *Herodot. lib. 1.*
 (x) *Herodot. lib. 26.* (y) *Ezek. xi. 15—21.*

kept themselves steady and faithful to his service, that he would become a sanctuary unto them in the strange Land, where they were carried, and bring them back again unto the Land of *Israel*, and there make them flourish in peace and righteousness as in former times. All (z) which the Prophet declared to the *Jews* of *Babylon*, among whom he dwelt.

In the 7th year of *Zedekiah* God did both by types and words of Revelation foreshew unto *Ezekiel* the taking of *Jerusalem* by the *Chaldeans*, *Zedekiah's* flight from thence by night, the putting out of his Eyes, and his imprisonment and death at *Babylon*; and also the carrying away of the *Jews* at the same time into Captivity, the desolation of their Country, and the many and great Calamities which should befall them for their Iniquities; and this is the subject of the 12th Chapter of his Prophecies. And what is contained in the seven following Chapters was also the same year revealed unto him, and relates mostly to the same subject.

Anno 592.
Zedekiah 7.

At this time *Daniel* was grown to so great a perfection and eminency in all Righteousness, Holiness, and Piety of life, in the sight both of God and man, that (a) he is by God himself equalled with *Noah* and *Job*, and reckoned with these two to make up the three, who of all the Saints, that had till then liv'd upon the Earth, had the greatest power to prevail with God in their prayers for others. And yet he was then but a young Man; for allowing him to be eighteen, when he was carried away to *Babylon* among other Children to be there educated, and brought up for the service of the King (and a greater will not agree with this Character) thirty two at this time must have been the utmost of his age. But he dedicated the prime and vigour of his Life to the Service of God, and that is the best time to make proficiency therein.

(z) Ezek. xi. 25.

(a) Ezek. xiv. 14 & 20.

Zedekiah having in the seventh year of his reign
Anno 591. Zedekiah 8. (b) sent Ambassadors into *Egypt* made a confederacy with *Pharaoh Hophra* King of *Egypt*. And therefore the next year after breaking the Oath of Fidelity, which he had sworn in the name of the Lord his God unto *Nebuchadnezzar* King of *Babylon*, he rebelled against him, which drew on him that War, which ended in his ruin, and in the ruin of all *Judah* and *Jerusalem* with him, in that calamitous destruction in which both were involved hereby.

In the ninth year of *Zedekiah* (c) *Nebuchadnezzar* having drawn together a great Army out of all the Nations under his Dominion, Anno 590. Zedekiah 9. marched against him to punish him for his Perfidy and Rebellion. But on his coming into *Syria* finding that the *Ammonites* had also entered into the same Confederacy with *Egypt* against him, he was (d) in a doubt for some time, which of these two people he should first fall upon, them, or the *Jews*; whereon he committed the decision of the matter to his Diviners, who consulting by the entrails of their Sacrifices, their Terephim, and their Arrows, determined for the carrying of the war against the *Jews*. This way of divining by arrows was usual among those Idolaters. The manner of it *Jerom* (e) tells us was thus. They wrote on several arrows the names of the Cities they intended to make war against, and then putting them promiscuously all together into a Quiver, they caused them to be drawn out thence in the manner as they draw Lots, and that City, whose name was on the arrow first drawn, was the first they assaulted. And by this way of Divination the war being determined against *Judah*, *Nebuchadnezzar* immediately marched his Army into that Country, and in a few days (f) took all the Cities thereof, except-

(b) Ezek. xvii. 15.
 Jer. xxxix. 1. lii. 4.
 ment. in Ezek. xxi.

(c) 2 Kings xxv. 1. 2 Chron. xxxvi. 17.
 (d) Ezekiel xxi. 19—24. (e) In Com-
 (f) Jer. xxxiv. 7.

ing only *Lachish*, *Azekah*, and *Jerusalem*. Whereon the *Jews* at *Jerusalem* being terrified with these losses, and the apprehensions of a siege then ready to be laid to that place, made a shew of returning unto the Lord their God, and entered into a solemn Covenant thenceforth to serve him only, and faithfully observe all his Laws. And in pursuance hereof (g) Proclamation was made, that every man should let his manservant, and every man his maid-servant, being an *Hebrew* or an *Hebrewess*, go free, (gg) according to the Law of God, and every man did according hereto.

On the (h) tenth month of the same year and the tenth day of the Month (which was about the end of our *December*) *Nebuchadnezzar* with all his numerous Army laid siege to *Jerusalem*, and blocked it close up on every side; in memory whereof the tenth day of *Tebeth*, which is their tenth month, hath ever since been observed (i) by the *Jews* as a day of solemn fast even to this time.

On the same (k) tenth day of the tenth Month, in which this siege began at *Jerusalem*, was the same revealed to *Ezekiel* in *Chaldea*, where by the type of a boiling pot was foreshewn unto him the dismal destruction, which should thereby he brought upon that City. And the (l) same night the wife of the Prophet, who was the desire of his eyes, was by a sudden stroke of death taken from him, and he was forbid by God to make any manner of mourning for her, or appear with any of the usual signs of it upon him, thereby to foreshew, that the Holy City, the Temple, and the Sanctuary, which were dearer to them, than any wife can be in the eyes of her Husband, should not only by a speedy and sudden stroke of destruction be taken from them, but that the Calamity ensuing thereon should be such, and so

(g) Jer. xxxiv. 8 — 10.

(gg) Deut. xv. 12.

(h) 2 Kings

xxv. 1. Jer. xxxix. 1. lii. 4.

(i) Zechariah viii. 19.

(k) Ezek,

xxiv. 1, 2.

(l) Ezek. xxiv. 16—18.

great, as should not allow them as much as to mourn for the loss of them.

In the beginning of the tenth year of *Zedekiah* (m) the Prophet *Jeremiah* being sent of God
Anno 589. declared unto him, that the *Babylonians*,
Zedekiah 10. who were now besieging of the City, should certainly take it, and burn it with fire, and take him Prisoner, and carry him to *Babylon*, and that he should die there. Whereon (n) *Zedekiah* being much displeased put him in Prison, and while he was shut up there even in this very year (o) he purchased of *Hanameel*, his Uncle's Son, a field in *Anathoth*, thereby to foreshew, that although *Judah* and *Jerusalem* should be laid desolate, and the Inhabitants led into Captivity, yet there should be a Restoration, when Lands and Possessions should be again enjoyed by the Legal Owners of them in the same manner as in former times.

Pharaoh Hophra (p) coming out of *Egypt* with a great Army to the relief of *Zedekiah*, *Nebuchadnezzar* raised the siege of *Jerusalem* to march against him. But before he went on this Expedition (q) he sent all the Captive *Jews* which he then had in his Camp to *Babylon*, the number of which were eight hundred thirty and two persons.

On the Departure of the *Chaldeans* from *Jerusalem*, *Jeremiah* being again set at liberty, (r) *Zedekiah* sent unto him *Jehucal* the Son of *Sbelemiah*, and *Zephaniah* the Son of *Maaseiah* the Priest, to enquire of the Lord by him, and to desire him to pray for him and his People. To whom the Prophet returned an Answer from God, that the *Egyptians*, whom they did depend upon, would certainly deceive them; that their Army would again return into *Egypt* without giving them any help at all, and that thereon the *Chaldeans* would again renew the siege, take the City, and burn it with fire.

(m) Jer. xxxiv. (n) Jer. xxxii. 1, 2, 3. (o) Jer. xxxii. 7 — 17.
 (p) Jer. xxxvii. 5. (q) Jer. lii. 29. (r) Jer. xxxvii. 3 — 10.

But the general opinion of the people being, that the *Chaldeans* were gone for good and all, and would return no more to renew the war against them, they (s) repented of the Covenant of Reformation, which they had entered into before God, when they were in fear of them; and caused every man his servant, and every man his handmaid, whom they had set at liberty, again to return into servitude, to be unto them again for servants and for handmaids, contrary to the Law of the Lord, and the Covenant, which they had lately entered into with him to walk according to it. For (t) which inhumane and unjust Act, and their impious breach of the Covenant lately made with God, *Jeremiah* proclaimed Liberty to the Sword, and to the Famine, and to the Pestilence, to execute the wrath of God upon them, and their King, and their Princes, and all *Judah* and *Jerusalem*, to their utter destruction.

While the *Chaldeans* were yet absent from *Jerusalem*, (u) *Jeremiah* intending to retire to *Anathoth* his native place, that thereby he might avoid the siege, which he knew would be again renewed on the return of the *Chaldeans* from their Expedition against the *Egyptians*, put himself on his journey thither; but as he was passing the Gate of the City, that led that way, the Captain, that kept Guard there, seized him for a Deserter, as if his intentions were to fall away to the *Chaldeans*, whereon he was again put in Prison in the House of *Jonathan* the Scribe, which they had made the common Jail of the City, where he remained many days.

The *Egyptians* on the coming of the *Chaldeans* against them durst not stay to engage in battel with so numerous and well appointed an Army, but (w) withdrawing on their approach retired again into their own Country, treacherously leaving *Zedekiah* and his people to perish in that war, which they had drawn

(s) Jer. xxxiv. 11. (t) Jer. xxxiv. 17 — 22. (u) Jer. xxxviii. 11 — 15. (w) Jer. xxxvii. 7.

them into. Whereon (x) the prophet *Ezekiel* reproaching them for their perfidy in thus becoming a staff of reed to those, whom by Oaths and Covenants of Alliance they had made to lean and confide on them, denounced God's Judgments against them to be executed both upon King and People in war, confusion, and desolation for forty years ensuing, for the punishment hereof. And (y) also foretold, how after that, they should sink low and become a mean and base people, and should no more have a Prince of their own to reign over them. Which hath accordingly come to pass. For not long after the Expiration of the said forty years they were made a Province of the *Persian* Empire, and have been governed by strangers ever since. For on the failure of the *Persian* Empire they became subject to the *Macedonians*, and after them to the *Romans*, and after the *Romans* to the *Saracens*, and then to the *Mamelukes*, and are now a Province of the *Turkish* Empire.

On the retreat of the *Egyptians*, *Nebuchadnezzar* (z) returned to *Jerusalem*, and again renewed the siege of that place, which lasted about a year from the second investing of it to the time when it was taken.

The siege being thus renewed, *Zedekiah* (a) sent for *Jeremiah* out of Prison to consult with him, and enquire of him, what word there was from God concerning the present state of his affairs. To which he found there was no other answer, but that he was to be delivered into the hands of the King of *Babylon*. However at the entreaty of the Prophet he was prevailed with not to send him back again to the common Jail of the City, lest he should die there by reason of the noisomeness of the place, and therefore instead thereof he was ordered to the Prison of the King's Court, where he continued with the allowance of a certain portion of bread out of the common store till the City was taken.

(x) Ezek. xxix. (y) Ezek. xxx. 13. (z) Jer. xxxvii. 8.
 (a) Jer. xxxvii. 17 — 21.

Zedekiah finding himself in the siege much pressed by the *Chaldeans* (b) sent Messengers to *Jeremiah* farther to enquire of the Lord by him concerning the present war. To which he answered, that the word of the Lord concerning him was, that God being very much provoked against him, and his people, for their iniquities, would fight against the City and smite it; that both King and People should be delivered into the hands of the King of *Babylon*; That those who continued in the City during the siege should perish by the Pestilence, by the Famine, and by the Sword; but that those, who should go out, and fall to the *Chaldeans* should have their lives given them for a prey. At which answer (c) several of the Princes and chief Commanders about the King being very much offended pressed the King against him, as one that weakened the hands of the men of war, and of all the people, and sought their hurt more than their good; whereon he being delivered into their hands, they cast him into a dungeon, where he must have perished, but that (d) *Ebedmelec* an Eunuch of the Court having intreated the King in his behalf delivered him thence. For which charitable act he had a Message sent him from God of mercy and deliverance unto him. After this (e) *Zedekiah* sending for *Jeremiah* into the Temple there secretly enquired of him, but had no other answer, than what had been afore given him, saving only that the Prophet told him, that if he would go forthwith and deliver himself into the hands of the King of *Babylon's* Princes, who commanded at the carrying on of the siege, this was the only way whereby he might save both himself and the City; and he earnestly pressed him hereto. But *Zedekiah* would not hearken unto him herein, but sent him back again to Prison, and after that no more consulted with him.

(b) Jer. xxi. 1 — 14. (c) Jer. xxxviii. 1 — 6. (d) Jeremiah xxxviii. 7 — 13. (e) Jer. xxxviii. 14 — 23.

In the Eleventh year of *Zedekiah*, in the beginning of the year, God declared by the Prophet *Ezekiel* his judgments against *Tyre* for their insulting on the calamitous state of *Judah* and *Jerusalem*, foreshewing that the same Calamities should be also brought upon them by the same *Nebuchadnezzar*, into whose hands God would deliver them. And this is the subject of the 26th, 27th and 28th Chapters of his Prophecies, in the last of which God particularly upbraided *Ithobal*, then King of *Tyre*, with the insolent and proud conceit he had of his own knowledge and understanding, having puffed up himself herewith, as (f) if he were wiser than *Daniel*, and that there was no secret that could be hid from him. Which sheweth to how great an height the fame of *Daniel's* wisdom was at that time grown, since it now became spoken of by way of Proverb through all the East. And yet according to the account above given of his age he could not at this time exceed six and thirty years. And in the conclusion of the 28th Chapter the like judgments are denounced also against *Sidon*, and for the same reason.

The same year God declared by the same Prophet his judgments against *Pharaoh* and the *Egyptians*, that he would bring the King of *Babylon* against them, and deliver them into his hands, and that notwithstanding their greatness and pride they should no more escape his revenging hand, than the *Assyrians* had done before them, who were higher and greater than they; and this is the subject of the thirtieth and one and thirtieth Chapters of his Prophecies.

In the 4th month on the ninth day of the month of the same eleventh year of *Zedekiah* (g) *Jerusalem* was taken by the *Chaldeans*, after the siege had lasted from their last setting down before it about a year. Hereon *Zedekiah* with his men of war fled away,

(f) *Ezekiel* xxviii. 3. (g) 2 *Kings* xxv. 4. 2 *Chron.* xxxvi. 17. *Jer.* xxxix. 2 — 10. lii. 6 — 11.

and having broken through the Camp of the Enemy endeavoured to make his escape over *Jordan*, but being pursued after, he was overtaken in the plains of *Jericho*, whereon all his army being scattered from him he was taken Prisoner and carried to the King of *Babylon* at *Riblah* in *Syria*, where he then resided, who having caused his Sons and all his Princes, that were taken with him, to be slain before his face, commanded his Eyes to be put out, and then bound him in fetters of brass and sent him to *Babylon*, where he died in Prison; and hereby was fulfilled the (b) Prophecy of the Prophet *Ezekiel* concerning him, That he should be brought to *Babylon* in the Land of the *Chaldeans*, yet should not see the place, tho' he should die there.

In the fifth month on the seventh day of the month (*i. e.* towards the end of our *July*) came (i) *Nebuzaradan* captain of the Guards to the King of *Babylon* to *Jerusalem*, and after having taken out all the vessels of the House of the Lord, and gathered together all the Riches, that could be found either in the King's House, or in any of the other Houses of the City, he did on the 10th day of the same Month pursuant to the command of his master set both the Temple and City on fire, and absolutely consumed and destroyed them both, overthrowing all the Walls, Fortresses and Towers belonging thereto, and wholly rasing and levelling to the ground every building therein, till he had brought all to a thorough and perfect desolation, and so it continued for fifty two years after, till by the favour of *Cyrus* the *Jews* being released from their Captivity, and restored again to their own Land, repaired these ruins, and built again their holy City. In memory of this calamity they keep two fasts even to this day, the 17th of the 4th Month (which falls in our *June*) for the destruction of *Jerusalem*, and ninth of the fifth month (which falls in our *July*) for the destructi-

(b) Ezek. xii. 13. (i) 2 Kings xxv. 8 — 17. Jer. lii. 12 — 23.

on of the Temple ; both which are made mention of (k) in the Prophecies of the Prophet *Zechary* under the names of the fast of the fourth month and the fast of the fifth month, and are there spoken of as annually observed from the destruction of *Jerusalem* to his time, which was seventy years after. *Josephus* (l) remarks, that the burning of the Temple by *Nebuchadnezzar* hapned on the very same day of the year, on which it was afterwards again burned by *Titus*.

Nebuzaradan having thus destroyed the City and the Temple of *Jerusalem* made all the People he found there Captives. Of these (m) he took *Seraiah* the High-Priest, and *Zephaniah* the second Priest, and about seventy others of the principal Persons he found in the place, and carried them to *Riblah* to *Nebuchadnezzar*, who caused them all there to be put to death. Of (n) the rest of the people he left the poorer sort to till the ground, and dress their vineyards, and made *Gedaliah* the Son of *Ahikim* Governor over them, and all the other he carried away to *Babylon*.

But concerning *Jeremiah* (o) *Nebuchadnezzar* gave particular charge to *Nebuzaradan*, that he should offer him no hurt, but look well to him, and do for him in all things according as he should desire. And therefore as soon as he came to *Jerusalem* with commission to destroy the Place, he and the Princes that were with him, sent and took him out of Prison, where he had laid bound from the time that *Zedekiah* had put him there, and restored him to his liberty, and having carried him with him as far as *Ramah* on his return to *Nebuchadnezzar*, he then gave him his option, whether he would go with him to *Babylon*, where he should be well looked after and maintained at the King's charge, or else remain in

(k) *Zechar.* viii. 19. (l) *De bello Judaico*, lib. 7. c. 10.
 (m) 2 *Kings* xxv. 18 — 21. *Jer.* lii. 24 — 27. (n) 2 *Kings* xxv.
 22 — 25. *Jer.* xxxix. 9, 10. & lii. 15, 16. (o) *Jer* xxxix. 11 — 14.
 & xl. 1 — 6.

the Land; and he having chosen the latter, *Nebuza-radan* gave him victuals, and a reward, and sent him back to *Gedaliah* the Son of *Abikam* with an especial charge to take care of him.

After *Nebuchadnezzar* was returned to *Babylon*, (p) all those, who before for fear of the *Chaldeans* had taken refuge among the neighbouring Nations, or had hid themselves in the fields and the desarts after their escape on the dispersion of *Zedekiah's* army in the plains of *Jericho*, hearing that *Gedaliah* was made Governour of the Land, resorted to him, and he having promised them protection, and sworn unto them, that they should be safe under his Government, they settled themselves again in the Land, and gathered in the fruits of it. The chief among these were *Johanan* and *Jonathan* the sons of *Kereah*, *Seraiah* the son of *Tanhumeth*, *Azariah* the son *Hoshaiah*, *Isbmael* the son of *Nethaniah*, and others.

But (q) *Isbmael* came to him only out of a treacherous design. For being of the Seed Royal he reckoned to make himself King of the Land, now the *Chaldeans* were gone, and for the accomplishing of it had formed a Conspiracy to kill *Gedaliah*, and seize the Government; and *Baalis* the King of the *Ammonites* was confederated with him herein. But *Johanan* the son of *Kereah* having got notice of it, he and all the chief men of the rest of the People went to *Gedaliah*, and informed him of it, proposing to kill *Isbmael*, and thereby deliver him from the mischief that was intended against him. But *Gedaliah* being of a very benign disposition, and not easy to entertain Jealousies of any one, would not believe this of *Isbmael*, but still carried on a friendly correspondence with him, (r) of which *Isbmael* taking the advantage came to him in the seventh month, which answers to our *September*, when the people were most of them scattered abroad from him to gather in the fruits of the Land, and while they were eating and

(p) Jer. xl. 7 — 12.

(q) Jer. xl. 13 — 16.

(r) Jer. xli.

drinking

drinking together at an entertainment, which *Gedaliah* had in a very friendly manner made for him and his men, they rose upon him, and slew him, and at the same time slew also a great number of the *Jews* and *Chaldeans*, whom they found with him, in *Mizpab*, and took the rest captive. And the next day hearing of eighty men, who were going on a religious account with offerings and incense (s) to the House of God, they craftily drew them into *Mizpab*, and there slew them all, excepting ten of them, who offered their stores for the Redemption of their lives. And then taking with them all the Captives, among whom were the daughters of King *Zedekiah*, they departed thence to go over to the *Ammonites*. But *Johanan* the Son of *Kereab*, and the rest of the Captains, hearing of this wicked fact, immediately armed as many of the people as they could get together, and pursued after *Ishmael*, and having overtaken him at *Gibeon* retook all the Captives, but he and eight of his men escaped to the *Ammonites*. This Murder of *Gedaliah* hapned two Months after the destruction of the City and Temple of *Jerusalem* in the said seventh Month and on the 30th day of the Month. For that day the *Jews* have kept as a Fast in Commemoration of this Calamity ever since, and (t) *Zechariah* also makes mention of it as observed in his time, calling it by the name of the fast of the seventh Month; and they had reason to keep a fast for it, for it was the Completion of their ruin.

After this great misfortune (u) *Johanan* the son of *Kereab*, and the people that were left, fearing the King of *Babylon*, because of the Murder of *Gedaliah*, whom he had made Governour of the Land, departed from *Mizpab* to flee into the Land of *Egypt*, and came to *Bethlehem* in their way thither. Where they

(s) i. e. At *Jerusalem*; for though the Temple was destroyed, yet the People that were left continued to offer sacrifices, and worship there on the place where it stood, as long as they remained in the Land. (t) *Zechariah* viii. 19. (u) *Jeremiah* xlii.

stopping a while consulted the Prophet *Jeremiah* (whom they had carried with them) about their intended journey, and desired him to enquire of God in their behalf; who after ten days having received an answer from God called them together, and told them, that if they would tarry in the Land, all should go well with them, and God would shew mercy unto them, and incline the heart of the King of *Babylon* to be favourable unto them. But if they would not hearken unto the word of the Lord, but would notwithstanding his word now delivered to the contrary set their faces to go into the Land of *Egypt*, that then the sword and famine should follow close after them thither, and they should be all there destroyed. But all this was of no effect with them. For their hearts being violently bent to go into *Egypt* they would not hearken to the word of the Lord spoken to them by the mouth of his Prophet, but told *Jeremiah*, that the answer, which he gave them, was not from God, but was suggested to him by *Baruch* the son of *Neriah* for their hurt. And therefore *Johanan* the son of *Kereab*, and the rest of the Captains of the forces, took all the remnant of *Judah*, that were returned from all Nations, whither they had been driven, again to dwell in the Land, and all the Persons whom *Nebuzaradan* had left with *Gedaliah*, even men, women, and children, and the King's daughters, and also *Jeremiah* the Prophet, and *Baruch* the son of *Neriah*, and went into *Egypt* and settled in that Country, till the plagues and judgments, which God had threatned them with for their disobedience to his word, there overtook them to their utter destruction. And thus ended this unfortunate year, in which the Temple and City of *Jerusalem* were destroyed, and the whole Land of *Judah* brought in a manner to utter Desolation for the Sins thereof.



THE
OLD *and* NEW TESTAMENT
Connected in the
HISTORY
OF THE
Jews and Neighbouring Nations,
FROM THE
Declension of the Kingdoms of *Israel*
and *Judah* to the time of CHRIST.

BOOK II.



IN the 12th year of the Captivity of *Je-*
hoiachin one escaping from *Je-*
rusalem (a) came to *Ezekiel* in
the Land of the *Chaldeans*, and
told him of the destruction of
the City, whereon he prophesied desolation to the rest
of the Land of *Judah*, and utter destruction to the re-
mainder of the *Jews*, who were left therein.

Anno 587.
Nebuchad-
nezzar 18.

The same year *Ezekiel* prophesied against *Egypt*,

(a) *Ezek.* xxxiii. 21—29.

and *Pharaoh Hophra* the King thereof, that God would bring against him *Nebuchadnezzar* King of *Babylon*, who should lay the Land desolate, and that he and all his armies should be brought to destruction, and perish, like as other Nations, whom God had cut off for their iniquities; which is the subject of the thirty second Chapter of his Prophecies.

The *Jews* which went into *Egypt*, (*b*) having settled in *Migdol*, and *Takpanhes*, and *Noph*, and in the Country of *Pathros* (i.e. at (*c*) *Magdalum* by the Red Sea, at *Daphne* near *Pelusium*, at *Memphis*, and in the Country of *Thebais*) gave themselves there wholly up to Idolatry, (*d*) worshipping the Queen of Heaven, and other false Deities of the Land, and burning incense unto them, without having any more regard to the Lord their God. Whereon the (*e*) Prophet *Jeremiah* cryed aloud against this impiety unto those among whom he lived, that is those who had settled in (*f*) the Land of *Pathros* or *Thebais*. (For this being the farthest from *Judea* of all the places, where they had obtained settlements in that Country, they had carried him thither, the better to take from him all opportunity of again returning from them.) But all his exhortations were of no other effect, than to draw from them a Declaration, that (*g*) they would worship the Lord no more, but would go on in their Idolatry; for they told him, that it had been best with them, when they practised it in *Judah* and *Jerusalem*; that it was since their leaving of it off, that all their calamities had hapned unto them; and that therefore they would no more hearken unto any thing, that he should deliver unto them in the name of the Lord. Whereon (*h*) the word of the Lord came unto the Prophet, denouncing utter destruction unto them by the Sword, and by the Famine, that thereby all of them, that is all the men of *Judah* then

(*b*) Jer. xliv. 1. (*c*) Vide Bocharti Phaleg. Part 1. lib. 4. cap. 27.

(*d*) Jer. xliv. 8. 15 — 19. (*e*) Jer. xliv. 1 — 15. (*f*) Jer. xliv. 15. (*g*) Jer. xliv. 16 — 19. (*h*) Jer. xliv. 26 — 30.

dwelling in *Egypt*, should be consumed, excepting only some few, who should make their escape into the Land of *Judah*. And for a sign hereof it was foretold unto them by the same Prophet, that *Pharaoh Hophra* King of *Egypt*, in whom they trusted, should be given in the hands of his Enemies, who sought his life, in the same manner as *Zedekiah* was given into the hands of *Nebuchadnezzar*, that sought his life; that so when this should be brought to pass in their eyes, they might be assured thereby, that all these words, which the Lord had spoken against them, should certainly be fulfilled upon them, as accordingly they were about eighteen years afterwards.

After this there is no more mention of *Jeremiah*. It is most likely, that he died in *Egypt* soon after, he being then much advanced in years, (for he had now prophesied one and forty years from the thirteenth of *Josiah*) and also much broken (as we may well suppose) by the calamities, which happened to himself and his Country. *Tertullian*, *Epiphanius*, *Dorotheus*, *Jerom*, and *Zonaras* tell us, that he was stoned to death by the *Jews* for preaching against their Idolatry, and of this some interpret St. *Paul's* ἰλιθάδυσαν (*i. e.* they were stoned) *Heb. xi. 37*. But others say, that he was put to death by *Pharaoh Hophra*, because of his Prophecy against him. But these seem to be traditions founded rather on conjecture, than on any certain account of the matter.

Nebuchadnezzar being returned to *Babylon* after the end of the *Jewish* war, and the full settling of his affairs in *Syria* and *Palestine*, did out of the spoils, which he had taken in that Expedition, (i) make that

(i) In the Greek Version of *Daniel*, c. iii. 1. this is said to have been done in the 18th year of *Nebuchadnezzar*, but this is not in the Original Text, for in that no year at all is mentioned, and therefore it is most probable it crept into it from some marginal Comment, for which I doubt not there was some very good authority. For it could in no year of that King's reign fall more likely, and therefore according hereto I have here placed it.

golden image to the honour of *Bel* his God, which he did set up, and dedicate to him in the plain of *Dura*: The History of which is at large related in the third Chapter of *Daniel*. But how *Daniel* escaped the fiery furnace, which his three friends on that occasion were condemned unto, is made a matter of enquiry by some. That he did not fall down and worship the Idol is most certain, it absolutely disagreeing with the Character of that holy religious man to make himself guilty of so high an offence against God, as such a compliance would have amounted unto; either therefore he was absent, or else if present was not accused. The latter seems most probable. For *Nebuchadnezzar* having summoned all his Princes, Counsellors, Governors, Captains, and all other his Officers, and Ministers, to be present and assisting at the solemnity of this Dedication, it is not likely, that *Daniel*, who was one of the chiefest of them, should be allowed to be absent. That he was present therefore seems most probable: But his Enemies thought it fittest not to begin with him, because of the great authority he had with the King, but rather to fall first on his three Friends, and thereby pave the way for their more successful reaching of him after it. But what was in the interim miraculously done in their case quashed all farther accusation about this matter, and for that reason it was, that *Daniel* is not at all spoken of in it.

Nebuchadnezzar in the twenty first year of his reign according to the *Jewish* account, which was the 19th according to the *Babylonish* account, and the second from the destruction of *Jerusalem*, came again into *Syria*, and (*k*) laid siege to *Tyre*, *Ithoball* being then King of that City; which found him hard work for thirteen years together, it being so long before he could make himself Master of the place. For it was a strong and wealthy City, which had never as yet

Anno 586.

Nebuchadnezzar 19.

(*k*) Josephus Antiq. lib. 10. c. 11. & contra Apionem lib. 1.

submitted to any foreign Empire, and was (*l*) of great fame in those days for its Traffic and Merchandise, whereby several of its Inhabitants had made themselves as great (*m*) as Princes in riches and splendour. It (*n*) was built by the *Zidonians* 240 years before the building of the Temple of *Solomon* at *Jerusalem*. For *Zidon* (*o*) being then conquered and taken by the *Philistines* of *Askalon*, many of the Inhabitants escaping thence in their Ships built *Tyre*, and therefore it was called by the Prophet *Isaiah* (*p*) the daughter of *Zidon*, but it soon out-grew its mother in largeness, riches, and power, and was thereby enabled to withstand for so many years the power of this mighty King, to whom all the *East* had then submitted.

Anno 584.
Nebuchad-
nezzar 21. While *Nebuchadnezzar* lay at this Siege, *Nebuzaradan* the Captain of his guards being sent out by him with part of his Army invaded the Land of *Israel*, to take revenge, as it may be supposed, for the death of *Gedaliah*, there being no other reason, why he should fall on the poor remains of those miserable people, whom he himself had left and settled there. In which Expedition (*q*) *Nebuzaradan* seizing upon all of the race of *Israel*, that he could meet with in the Land, made them all Captives, and sent them to *Babylon*. But they all amounted to no more than seven hundred forty and five persons, the rest having been all fled into *Egypt*, as hath been before related.

By this last Captivity was fully compleated the desolation of the Land, no more of its former Inhabitants being now left therein. And hereby were also compleated the Prophecies of *Isaiah*, *Jeremiah*, *Ezekiel*, and other Prophets relating hereto, and particularly (*r*) that of *Ezekiel*, wherein God's forbearance of the House of *Israel* is limited to 390 days, and his forbearance of the House of *Judah* to 40 days. For taking the days for years according to the

(*l*) Ezekiel xxvi. and xxvii. (m) Isaiah xxiii. 8. (n) Josephus
Antiq. l. 8. c. 2. (o) Justin lib. 18. c. 3. (p) Isaiah xxiii.
12. (q) Jeremiah lii. 30. (r) Ezekiel iv. 1 — 8.

Prophetic style of Scripture, from the Apostacy of *Jeroboam* to the time of this last Captivity there will be just 390 years, and so long God bore the Idolatry of the House of *Israel*. And from the 18th year of *Josiah*, (s) when the House of *Judah* entered into Covenant with God to walk wholly in his ways, to the same time will be just 40 years, and so long God bore their walking contrary to that Covenant. But now the stated time of his forbearance in respect of both being fully compleated, he compleated also the desolation of both in this last Captivity, in which both had an equal share, part of them, who were now carried away, being of the House of *Judah*, and part of the House of *Israel*. There are others, who end both the computations at the destruction of *Jerusalem*, and to make their Hypothesis good they begin the 40 years of God's forbearance of the House of *Judah* from the Mission of the Prophet *Jeremiah* to preach repentance unto them, that is from the 13th of *Josiah*, (t) when he was first called to this Office, from which time to the last year of *Zedekiah*, when *Jerusalem* was destroyed, were exactly 40 years. And as to the 390 years forbearance of the House of *Israel*, according as they compute the time from *Jeroboam's* Apostacy, they make this period to fall exactly right also, that is to contain just 390 years from that time to the destruction of *Jerusalem*. But this Period relating purely to the House of *Israel*, as contradistinct from the House of *Judah* in this Prophecy, it cannot be well interpreted to end in the destruction of *Jerusalem*, in which the House of *Israel* had no concern. For *Jerusalem* was not within the Kingdom of *Israel*, but within the Kingdom of *Judah*, of which it was the Metropolis, and therefore the latter only and not the former had their punishment in it. But this last equally affected both, and therefore here may well be ended the reckoning which belonged to both. As to the computing of the 40 years of God's forbearance of the House of

(s) 2 Chron. xxxiv. 29 ——— 31

(t) Jeremiah i. 2.

Judah from the Mission of *Jeremiah* to preach repentance unto them, it must be acknowledged, that from thence to the destruction of *Jerusalem* the number of years falls exactly right, and therefore since (u) the 120 years of God's forbearance of the old world is reckoned from the like mission of *Noah* to preach repentance unto them, I should be inclined to come into this Opinion, and reckon the 40 years of this forbearance of *Judah*, by the 40 years of *Jeremiah's* like preaching of repentance unto them; but it cannot be conceiv'd, why *Ezekiel* should reckon the time of his Mission by an *Æra* from the 18th year of *Josiah*, (for the 30th year on which he saith he was called to the Prophetic Office is certainly to be reckoned from thence) unless it be with respect to the 40 years of God's forbearance of the House of *Judah* in his own Prophecies.

After this *Nebuzaradan* (w) marched against the *Ammonites*, and having destroyed *Rabbah* their Royal City, and by fire and sword made great desolation in that Country, he carried their King, and their Princes, and most of the chief of the Land into Captivity. And this was done by way of just revenge for the part which they had in the Murder of *Gedaliah*, the King of *Babylon's* Governor in the Land of *Israel*.

And during this Siege of *Tyre*, the other Neighbouring Nations, that is the *Philistins*, the *Moabites*, the *Edomites*, and the *Zidonians* seem also to have been harassed and broken by the Excursions of the *Babylonians*, and to have had all those Judgments executed upon them, which we find in the Prophecies of (x) *Jeremiah*, and (y) *Ezekiel* to have been denounced against them.

In the 14th year after the destruction of *Jerusalem*,

(u) Gen. vi. 3. (w) Jeremiah xlix. 1 ——— 6. Ezek. xxv. 1 ——— 7. Amos i. 14, 15. (x) Jeremiah xxvii, xxviii, xxix. (y) Ezek. xxv.

which was the 25th year of the Captivity of *Jehoiachin*, were revealed unto the Prophet *Ezekiel* all those Visions and Prophecies concerning the future state of the Church of God, which we have from the 40th Chapter of his Prophecies to the end of that Book.

Anno 574.
Nebuchad-
nezzar 31.

This same year the Judgments, which God had denounced by the mouth of his Prophets against *Pharaoh Hophra*, or *Apries*, King of *Egypt*, began to operate against him. For (2) the *Cyrenians*, a Colony of the *Greeks*, that had settled in *Africa*, having taken from the *Libyans* (a neighbouring Nation lying between them and the *Egyptians*, and bordering upon both) a great part of their Land, and divided it among themselves, the *Lybians* made a surrender both of themselves and their Country into the hands of *Apries* to obtain his Protection. Hereon *Apries* sent a great Army into *Libya* to wage war against the *Cyrenians*, which having the misfortune to be beaten and overthrown in battel were almost all cut off and destroyed, so that very few of them escaped the Carnage, and returned again into *Egypt*; whereon the *Egyptians* entertaining an opinion, that this Army was sent by *Apries* into *Libya* of purpose to be destroyed, that he might, when rid of them, with the more ease and security govern the rest, became so incensed against him, that a great many of them imbodying together revolted from him. *Apries* hearing of this sent *Amasis* an Officer of his Court to appease them, and reduce them again to their duty. But while he was speaking to them, they put on his head the ensigns of Royalty, and declared him their King, which he accepting of stayed among them, and increased the revolt; at which *Apries* being much incensed sent *Paterbemis* another Officer of his Court, and one of the first rank among his followers, to arrest *Amasis*, and bring him unto him; which he not being able to effect in the midst of so great an army of Conspirators, as he found about him, was on his return very

(2) Herodotus lib. 2. & lib. 4. Diodorus Siculus lib. 1. part 2.

cruelly and unworthily treated by *Apries*. For out of anger for his not effecting that, for which he sent him, tho' he had no power to accomplish it, he outrageously commanded his ears and his nose to be immediately cut off. Which wrong and indignity offered to a person of his character and worth, so incensed the rest of the *Egyptians*, that they almost all joined with the Conspirators in a general revolt from him. Whereon *Apries* being forced to flee made his escape into the upper *Egypt* towards the Borders of *Ethiopia*, where he maintained himself for some years, while *Amasis* held all the rest.

But while this was a doing in *Egypt*, at length (a) in the 26th year of the Captivity of *Jehoiachin*, which was the 15th after the destruction of *Jerusalem*, *Nebuchadnezzar* made himself Master of *Tyre*, after a Siege (b) of thirteen years continuance, and utterly destroyed the place, that is the City which was on the Continent, the ruins of which were afterwards called *Palæ-Tyrus*, or *old Tyre*. But before it came to this extremity, the Inhabitants had removed most of their Effects into an Island about half a mile distant from the Shore, and there built them a new City. And therefore when *Nebuchadnezzar* entered that, which he had so long besieged, he found little there wherewith to reward his Soldiers in the Spoil of the place, which they had so long laboured to take, and therefore wrecking his anger upon the buildings, and the few Inhabitants who were left in them, he rased the whole Town to the ground, and slew all he found therein. After this it never more recovered its former glory, but the City on the Island became the *Tyre*, that was afterwards so famous by that name, the other on the Continent never rising any higher, than to become a Village by the Name of *old Tyre*, as was before said. That it was this *Tyre* only that *Nebuchadnezzar* besieged, and not the other

(a) Ezek. xxix. 17.
contra Apionem lib. 1.

(b) Josephus Antiq. lib. 10. c. 11. &

on the Island, appears from the description of the Siege, which we have in *Ezekiel*. For thereby we find that *Nebuchadnezzar* made (c) a Fort against the place, and cast up a Mount against it, and erected (d) engins of battery to break down its walls, which could not be said of the *Tyre* on the Island: For that was all surrounded by the Sea. And that he also took, and utterly destroyed that City, appears likewise from the writings (e) of the same Prophet. But that the City on the Island then escaped this fate is manifest from the *Phenician Histories*. For in them after the death of *Ithoball* (who was (f) slain in the conclusion of this War) we are told (g) that *Baal* succeeded in the Kingdom, and reigned ten years, and that after him succeeded several temporary magistrates one after another, who by the name of *Judges* had the Government of the place. It is most probable that after *Nebuchadnezzar* had taken and destroyed the old Town, those who had retired into the Island came to Terms and submitted to him, and that thereon *Baal* was deputed to be their King under him, and reigned ten years; That at the end of the said ten years (which hapned in the very year that *Nebuchadnezzar* was again restored after his distraction) *Baal* being then dead or deposed, the Government, to make it the more dependent on the *Babylonians*, was changed into that of temporary Magistrates, who instead of the name of Kings, had only that of *Suffetes*, or *Judges*, given unto them, which was a name well known among the *Carthaginians*, who were descended of the *Tyrians*, for so (h) their chief Magistrates were called. It had its derivation from the Hebrew word *Shophetim*, i. e. *Judges*, which was the very name, whereby the chief Governours of *Israel*

(c) *Ezekiel* xxvi. 8.(d) *Ezekiel* xxvi. 9.(e) *Ezekiel*

xxvi. 4. & 9—12.

(f) *Ezekiel* xxviii. 8—10.(g) *Jose-*

phus contra Apionem lib. 1.

(h) *Livius* lib. 28. *Suffetes eorum*

qui summus est *Pœnis Magistratus*. Vide etiam ejusdem librum 30 & librum 3, ubi de *Suffetibus* ut de summo apud *Carthagenienses* Magistratu mentio fit,

were called for several Generations, before they had Kings. And under this sort of government the *Tyrians* seem to have continued for several years after, till they were restored to their former state by *Darius Hystaspis* seventy years after, as will in its proper place be hereafter related.

And here I cannot but observe, how exactly the Chronology of the *Phœnician Annals* agreeth with that of the Holy Scriptures. *Ezekiel* placeth the taking of *Tyre* by *Nebuchadnezzar* in the 26th year of the Captivity of *Jehoiachin*. For in the first month and in the first day of the month of the 27th year he speaketh (ch. xxix. 17, 18, &c.) of that City as newly taken by *Nebuchadnezzar*, and therefore the taking of it must have been in the year before, that is in the twenty sixth of the said captivity. This fell in the (i) 32d year of the reign of *Nebuchadnezzar* according to the *Babylonish* account, from which year according to *Ptolemy's Canon* the first year of *Cyrus* at *Babylon* will be the 36th, and so according to the *Phœnician Annals* will it be exactly the same. For (k) according to them after the taking of *Tyre* by *Nebuchadnezzar*, *Baal* had the Government of it ten years, *Ecnibal* two months, *Chelbes* ten months, *Abbar* three months, *Mitgonus* and *Gerastratus* six years, *Balator* one year, *Merball* four years, and *Hirom* 20 years, in whose 14th year say the same *Annals* *Cyrus* began his Empire. And putting all these together the 14th of *Hirom* will be exactly the 36th year from the 32d of *Nebuchadnezzar*, which was the 26th of the Captivity of *Jehoiachin*, the year according to *Ezekiel* in which *Tyre* was taken. And therefore it doth hereby appear, that the said *Phœnician Annals* place the taking of *Tyre* in the very same year, that *Ezekiel* doth. For the twenty sixth year from the Captivity of *Jehoiachin* computed downward, in

(i) For the 37th year of the captivity of *Jehoiachin* being the last (which was the 43d) year of the reign of *Nebuchadnezzar*, (2 Kings xxv. 27. & Jer. lii. 31.) the 26th year of the said Captivity must be in the 32d of *Nebuchadnezzar*.

(k) *Josephus contra Apionem* lib. 1.

which

which *Ezekiel* placeth it, and the thirty sixth year from the 14th of *Hirom* computed upward, in which the *Phœnician Annals* place it, will be exactly the same year.

Nebuchadnezzar and his army having served so long before *Tyre*, (1) till every head was bald, and every shoulder peeled, thro' the length and hardship of the War, and gotten little on the taking of the place to reward him and his army for their service in executing the wrath of God upon the place, by reason that the *Tyrians* had saved the best of their effects in the Island, God did by the Prophet *Ezekiel* promise them the spoils of *Egypt*. And accordingly this very same year, immediately after this siege was over, *Nebuchadnezzar* taking the advantage of the intestine divisions, which were then in that Country by reason of the revolt of *Amasis*, marched with his army thither, and overrunning the whole Land from (m) *Migdol* or *Magdolum* (which is at the first entring into *Egypt*) even to *Syene* (which is at the farthest end of it towards the borders of *Ethiopia*) he made (n) a miserable ravage and devastation therein, slaying multitudes of the Inhabitants, and reducing a great part of the Country to such a desolation, as it did not recover from in (o) 40 years after. After this *Nebuchadnezzar* having loaded himself and his army with the rich spoils of this Country, and brought it all in subjection to him, he came to terms with *Amasis*, and having confirmed him in the Kingdom, as his Deputy, returned to *Babylon*.

During this ravage of the Land of *Egypt* by the

(1) *Ezekiel* xxix. 18 — 20. & xxx. 1 — 19. (m) *Ezekiel* xxx. 6. Where observe this passage [from the Tower of *Syene*] in the English Translation of the Bible is wrong translated. For the Hebrew word *Migdol*, which is there translated Tower, is the name of the City *Magdolum*, which was at the entrance of *Egypt* from *Palestine*, i. e. at the hither end of *Egypt*, whereas *Syene* was at the other end upon the borders of *Ethiopia*; the Translation ought to be thus, [from *Migdol* to *Syene*] that is from one end of *Egypt* to the other. (n) *Ezekiel* xxix. 30, 31, 32.

(o) *Ezekiel* xxix. 13.

Babylonians, most of the *Jews*, who had fled thither after the murder of *Gedaliah*, fell into their hands. (p) Many of them they slew, others they carried captive with them to *Babylon*. The few that escaped saved themselves by fleeing out of *Egypt*, and afterward settled again in their own Land at the end of the Captivity.

After *Nebuchadnezzar* was gone out of *Egypt*, *Apries* creeping out of his hiding-places got towards the Sea Coasts, most likely into the parts of *Libya*, and there (q) hiring an army of *Carians*, *Ionians*, and other foreigners, marched against *Amasis*, and gave him battle near the City of *Memphis*, in which being vanquished and taken Prisoner he was carried to the City of *Sais*, and there strangled in his own Palace. And hereby were compleated all the Prophecies of the Prophets (r) *Jeremiah* and (s) *Ezekiel*, which they had foretold both concerning him, and his people, especially that of *Jeremiah* relating to his death, whereby it was foreshewn, (t) that God would give *Pharaoh Hophra King of Egypt* into the hands of his Enemies, and into the hand of them that sought his life, as he gave *Zedekiah King of Judah* into the hand of *Nebuchadnezzar* his Enemy that sought his life. Which was exactly fulfilled on his being taken prisoner, and executed by *Amasis* in the manner as I have said. It is remarked of him (u) by *Herodotus*, that he was of that pride and high conceit of himself, as to vaunt, that it was not in the power of God himself to dispossess him of his Kingdom, so surely he thought himself established in it; and agreeably hereto is it, that the Prophet *Ezekiel* chargeth him with saying, (w) *The River is mine, and I have made it*. For the first 20 years of his reign he had enjoyed as prosperous a for-

(p) *Jeremiah* xliv. 27, 28. (q) *Herodotus* lib. 2. *Diodorus Siculus* lib. 1. part 2. (r) *Chap.* xliii, xlv, xlv. (s) *Chap.* xxix, xxx, xxxi, xxxii. (t) *Jeremiah* xlv. 30. (u) *Herodotus*, lib. 2. (w) *Ezek.* xxix. 9.

tune, as most of his Predecessors, having (x) had many successes against the *Cypriots*, the *Zidonians*, the *Philistines*, and other Nations, but after he took on himself *Caligula* like to be thought as a God, he fell from his former state, and made that miserable exit, which I have related. After his death (y) *Amasis* without any farther opposition became possessed of the whole Kingdom of *Egypt*, and held it from the death of *Apries* forty four years. This hapned in the 19th year after the destruction of *Jerusalem*.

In the same 19th year *Nebuchadnezzar* being returned from this *Egyptian* Expedition to *Babylon* had there the dream of the wonderful great Tree, and the cutting down thereof, of which, and the interpretation of it, there is a full account in the fourth Chapter of *Daniel*.

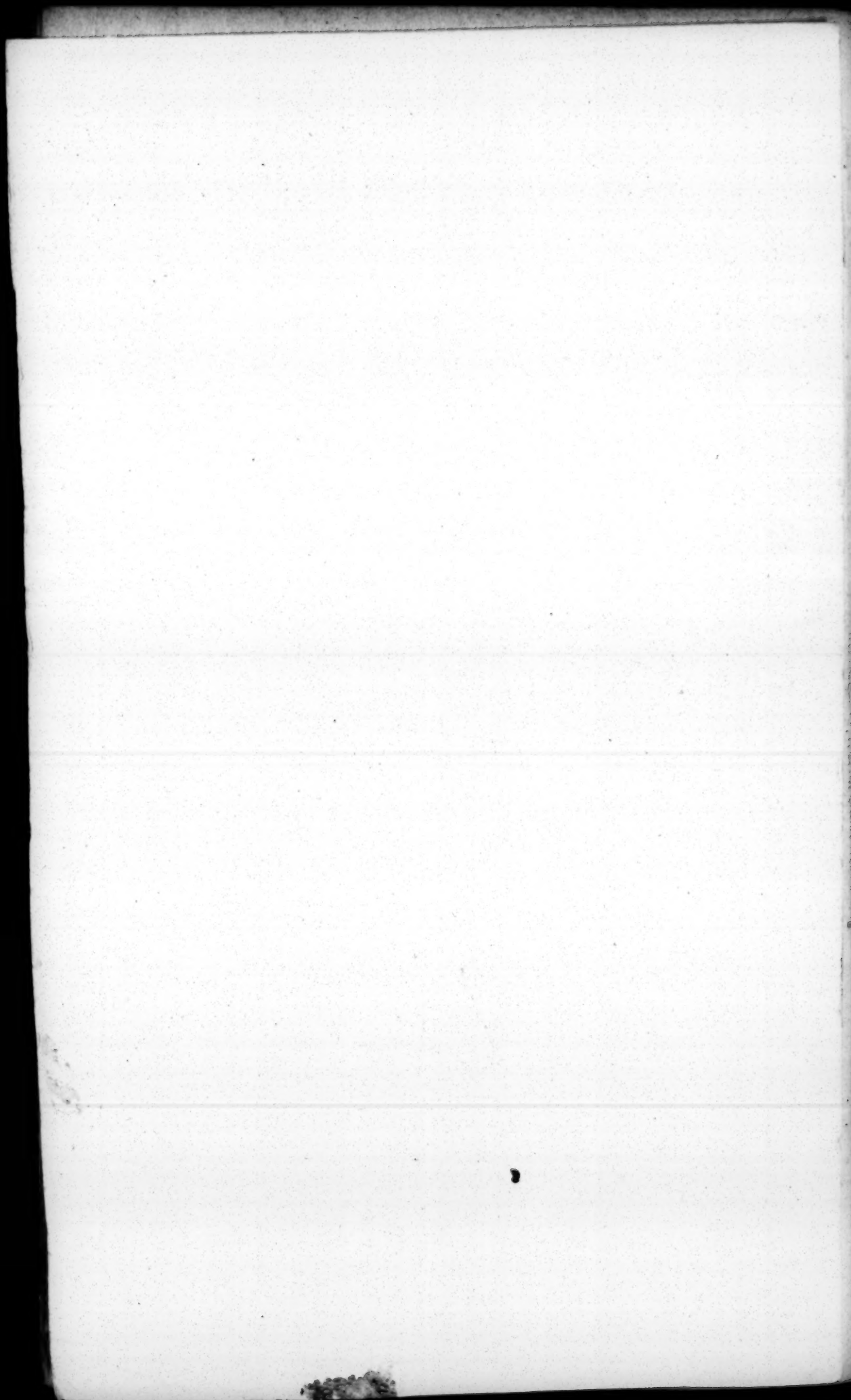
Nebuchadnezzar being now at rest from all his wars, and in full peace at home, applied himself to the finishing of his buildings at *Babylon*. (z) *Semiramis* is said by some, and (a) *Belus* by others to have first founded this City. But by whomsoever it was first founded, it was *Nebuchadnezzar* that made it one of the wonders of the world. The (b) most famous works therein were, 1st, The Walls of the City; 2dly, the Temple of *Belus*; 3dly, his Palace, and the hanging Gardens in it; 4thly, the Banks of the River; and 5thly, the Artificial Lake, and Artificial Canals made for the draining of that River. In the magnificence and expence of which works he much exceeded whatsoever had been done by any King before him. And excepting the Walls of *China* nothing like it hath been since attempted, whereby any one else can be equal'd to him herein.

1st, The Walls were every way prodigious. For

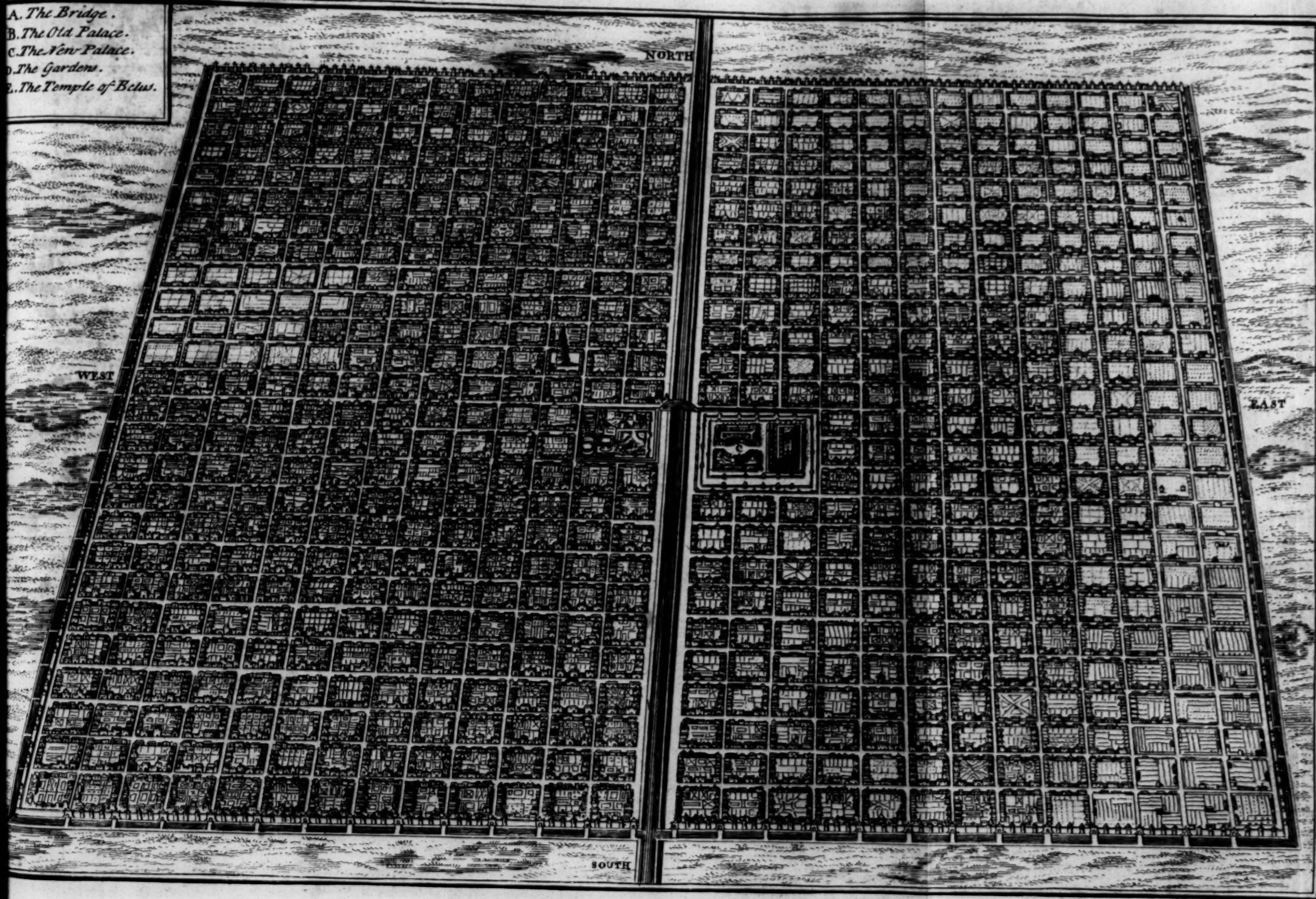
(x) Herodotus, lib. 2. Diodorus Siculus, lib. 1. part 2. Jeremiah xlvii. 1. (y) Herodotus, Ibid. Diodorus, Ibid. (z) Herodotus, lib. 1. Ctesias. Justin. lib. 1. c. 2. (a) Q. Curtius, lib. 5. c. 1. Abydenus ex Magasthene apud Euseb. Præp. Evang. lib. 9. (b) Berosus apud Josephum Antiq. lib. 10. c. 11. Abydenus Euseb. Præp. Evang. lib. 9.

they (c) were in thickness 87 foot, in height 350 foot, and in compass 480 Furlongs, which make fixty of our miles. This is *Herodotus's* account of them, who was himself at *Babylon*, and is the ancientest Author that hath wrote of this matter. And altho' there are others that differ from him herein, yet the most, that agree in any measures of those walls, give us (d) the same or very near the same that he doth. Those, who lay the height of them at 50 Cubits, speak of them only, as they were after the time of *Darius Hystaspis*. For the *Babylonians* having revolted from him, and in confidence of their strong walls stood out against him in a long siege, after he had taken the place, to (e) prevent their rebellion for the future, he took away their gates, and beat down their Walls to the height last mentioned, and beyond this they were never after raised. These Walls were drawn round the City in the form of (f) an exact square, each side of which was 120 furlongs, or fifteen Miles in length, and (g) all built of large bricks cemented together with Bitumen, a glutinous slime arising out of the Earth in that Country, which binds in building much stronger and firmer than lime, and soon grows much harder than the Brick or Stones themselves, which they cement together. These Walls were surrounded on the outside with a vast Ditch filled with water, and lined with bricks on both sides after the manner of a Scarpe or Counterscarpe, and the Earth, which was dug out of it, made the bricks, wherewith the Walls were built, and therefore from the vast height and breadth of the Walls may be inferred the greatness of the Ditch. In every side of this great square were twenty five gates, that is an hundred in all, which were all made of solid Brass, and hence it is that, when God promised to *Cyrus* the Conquest of *Babylon*, he tells him

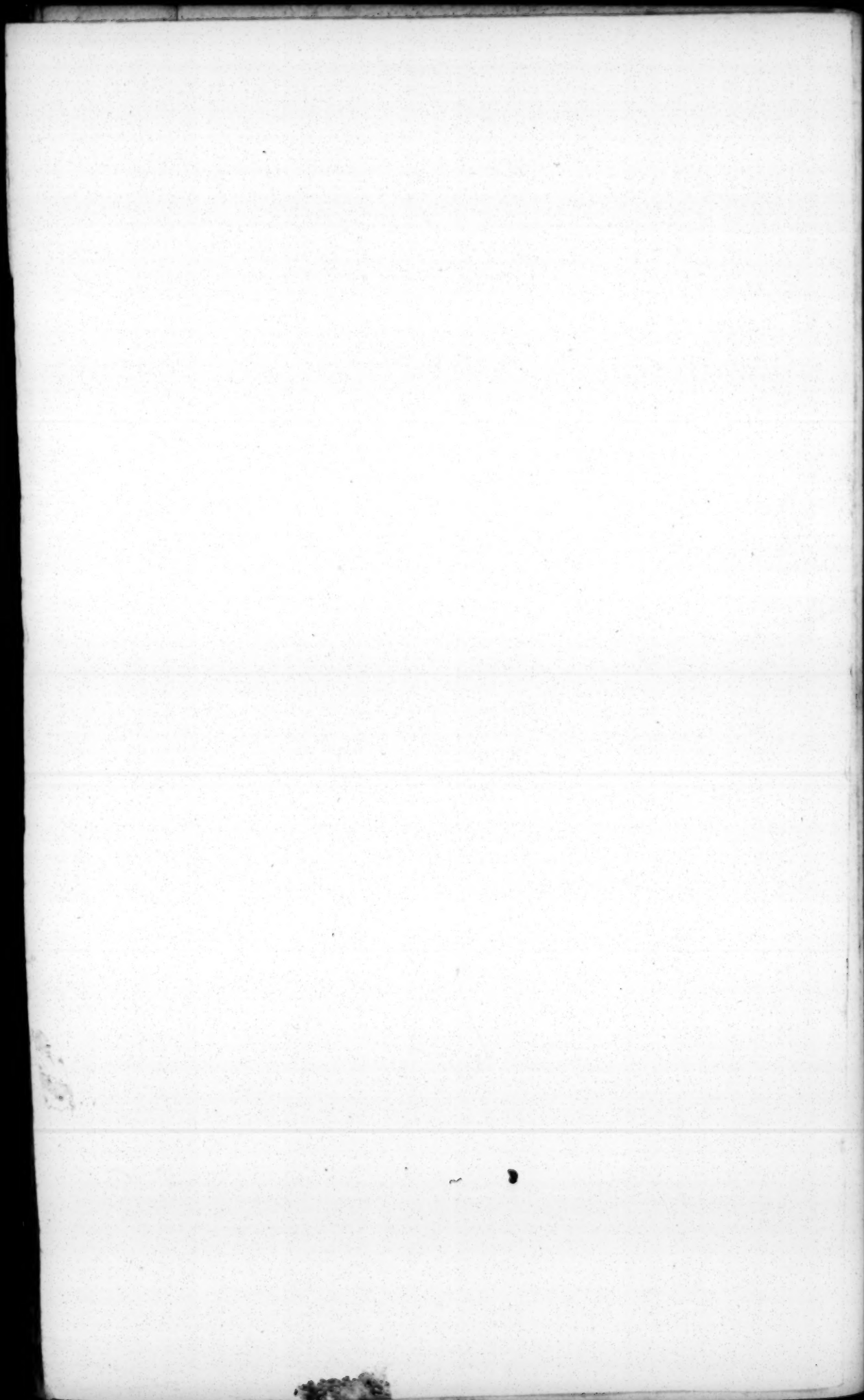
(c) Herodotus, lib. 1. (d) Plinius lib. 6. c. 26. Philostratus lib. 1. c. 18. (e) Herodotus lib. 3. (f) Herodotus lib. 3. (g) Herodotus lib. 1. Q. Curtius lib. 5. c. 1. Strabo lib. 16. Diodorus Sic. lib. 3. Arrian. de Expeditione Alexandri lib. 7.



- A. The Bridge.
- B. The Old Palace.
- C. The New Palace.
- D. The Gardens.
- E. The Temple of Belus.



THE PLAN OF BABYLON.



that he would break in pieces before him the Gates of Brass (Isaiah xlv. 2.) Between every two of these Gates were three Towers, and four more at the four Corners of this great square, and three between each of these Corners and the next Gate on either side, and every one of these Towers was ten foot higher than the Walls. But this is to be understood only (b) of those parts of the Wall, where there was need of Towers. For some parts of them lying against Morasses always full of water, where they could not be approached by an Enemy, they had there no need of any Towers at all for their defence, and therefore in them there were none built. For the whole number of them amounted to no more than two hundred and fifty, whereas had the same uniform order been observed in their disposition all round, there must have been many more. From the 25 Gates in each side of this great square went 25 streets in streight lines to the Gates, which were directly over against them in the other side opposite to it. So that the whole number of the streets were fifty, each fifteen miles long, whereof 25 went one way, and 25 the other, (i) directly crossing each other at right Angles.

(b) Diodorus Siculus, lib. 2.

(i) Herodotus lib. 1. *Much*

according to this Model hath William Pen the Quaker laid out the ground for his City of Philadelphia in Pensilvania; and were it all built according to that design, it would be the fairest and best City in all America, and not much behind any other in the whole world. For it lyeth between two Navigable Rivers at the distance of two miles from their confluence, and consists of thirty streets, ten of which being drawn from River to River are two miles long, and the twenty others being drawn cross the said ten, and cutting them at right Angles, are a mile long. In the midst of the whole is left a square of ten Acres, and in the middle of the four Quarters of the Town, into which it is equally divided, is a square of five Acres; which void places are designed for the building Churches, Schools, and other publick buildings, and also to serve for the Inhabitants to walk, and other ways divert themselves in them, in the same manner as Moor-fields do in London. Above two thousand Houses are in this place already built, and when it shall be wholly built according to the plan above-mentioned, it will be the Glory of all that part of the World; and if the Country round it comes to be thoroughly inhabited, the great Conveniency of its situation for Trade by reason of the two Navigable Rivers on which it stands,

gles. And besides these there were also four half streets, which were built but of one side as having the wall on the other. These went round the four sides of the City next the walls, and (*k*) were each of them 200 foot broad, the rest were about an hundred and fifty. By these streets thus crossing each other, the whole City was cut out into 676 Squares, each of which was four furlongs and an half on every side, that is two miles and a quarter in compass. Round these Squares on every side towards the Streets stood the Houses, all built 3 or 4 stories high, and beautified (*l*) with all manner of adornments towards the streets. The space within in the middle of each Square was all void ground, imployed for yards, gardens, and other such uses. A Branch of the River *Euphrates* did run quite cross the City, entring in on the North side and going out on the South, over which in the middle of the City was a Bridge of (*m*) a furlong in length, and thirty foot in breadth, built with (*n*) wonderful Art to supply the defect of a foundation in the bottom of the River, which was all sandy. At the two Ends of the bridge were (*o*) two Palaces, the old Palace on the East-side, and the new Palace on the West-side of the

stands, and the great River Delaware, into which both fall within two miles of it, will soon draw people enough thither, not only to finish the Scheme, which hath been laid of it by its first Founder, but also to enlarge it by such Additions on each side, as to make its breadth answer its length; and then, barring the walls and greatness of Babylon, it will imitate it in all things else, and in the conveniency of its situation far exceed it. But this is to be understood as a comparing of a small thing with a great, For tho' Philadelphia were built and inhabited to the utmost I have mentioned, that is to the full extent of two miles in breadth as well as in length, yet fifty six of such Cities might stand within those walls that encompassed Babylon.

(*k*) Two plethra, saith Diodorus, that is 200 foot, for a Plethrum contained one hundred foot. (*l*) Herodotus lib. 1. Philostratus lib. 1.

(*m*) Strabo saith, that the River, which passed thorough Babylon, was a furlong broad (lib. 16.) But Diodorus saith (lib. 2.) that the Bridge was five furlongs long, if so it must be much longer than the River was broad.

(*n*) Diodorus Sic. lib. 2. Q. Curtius lib. 5. c. 1. Philostratus lib. 1. c. 18. Herodot. lib. 1. (*o*) Berosus apud Joseph.

Antiq. lib. 10. c. 11. Herodotus lib. 1. Diodor. Sic. lib. 2. Q. Curtius lib. 5. c. 1. Philostratus lib. 1. c. 18.

River,

River, the former of these took up (p) four of the Squares above-mentioned; and the other (q) nine of them. And the Temple of *Belus*, which stood next the old Palace, took up another of these Squares. The whole City stood on a (r) large flat or plain in a very fat and deep soil. That part of it (s) which was on the East-side of the River, was the old City, the other on the West-side was added by *Nebuchadnezzar*. Both together were included within that vast square I have mentioned. The Pattern hereof seemeth to have been taken from *Nineveh*, that having been exactly (t) 480 Furlongs round, as this was. For *Nebuchadnezzar* having in conjunction with his Father destroyed that old Royal seat of the *Assyrian* Empire, resolved to make this, which he intended should succeed it in that dignity, altogether as large; only whereas *Nineveh* was (u) in the form of a Parallelogram, he made *Babylon* in that of an exact Square, which figure rendred it somewhat the larger of the two. To fill this great and large City with Inhabitants, was the reason that *Nebuchadnezzar*, out of *Judea* and other conquered Countries, carried so great a number of Captives thither. And could he have made it as populous, as it was great, there was no Country in all the East could better, than that in which it stood, have maintained so great a number of people, as must then have been in it. For the fertility of this Province was so great, that (w) it yielded to the *Persian* Kings during their reign over *Asia* half as much, as did all that large Empire besides, the common return of their Tillage being between two and three hundred fold every Crop. But it never hapned to have been (x) fully inhabited, it not having had time enough to grow up thereto. For within 25 years after the death of *Nebuchadnezzar*

(p) It was thirty furlongs in Compass, Diodor. Sic. lib. 2. (q) It was 60 furlongs in Compass, Diodor. ibid. (r) Herodot. lib. 1.

(s) Diodorus Sic. lib. 2. (t) Diodorus, ibid. (u) Two of its sides were each 150 furlongs long, and the other but 80 each, Diodor. ibid.

(w) Herodotus, lib. 1. (x) Q. Curtius, lib. 5. c. 1.

zar the royal seat of the Empire was removed from thence to *Shushan* by *Cyrus*, which did put an end to the growing glory of *Babylon*, for after that it never more flourished. When *Alexander* came to *Babylon*, *Curtius* tells us, (x) no more than 90 furlongs of it was then built, which can no otherwise be understood, than of so much in length, and if we allow the breadth to be as much as the length (which is the utmost, that can be allowed) it will follow, that no more than 8100 square furlongs were then built upon, but the whole space within the Walls contained 14400 square furlongs, and therefore there must have been 6300 square furlongs that were unbuilt, which *Curtius* (x) tells us were plow'd and sown. And besides this the Houses were not contiguous, but all built with a void space on each side between House and House. And the same Historian tells us this was done, because this way of building seemed to them the safest. His words are, *Ac ne totam quidem urbem tectis occupaverunt, per 90 stadia habitatur, nec omnia continua sunt, credo quia tutius visum est pluribus locis spargi. i. e.* Neither was the whole City built upon, for the space of 90 furlongs it was inhabited, but the Houses were not contiguous, because they thought it safest to be dispersed in many places distant from each other. Which words [*they thought it safest*] are to be understood, not as if they did this for the better securing of their Houses from fire, as some interpret them, but chiefly for the better preserving of health. For hereby in Cities situated in such hot Countries those Suffocations and other inconveniences are avoided, which must necessarily attend such, as there dwell in Houses closely built together. For which reason *Delhi* the Capital of *India*, and several other Cities in those warmer parts of the world, are thus built, the usage of those places being, that such a stated space of ground be left void between every House and House, that is built in them. And old

(x) Q. Curtius, lib. 5. c. 1.

Rome was built after the same manner. So that putting all this together it will appear, that *Babylon* was so large a City rather in scheme than in reality. For according to this account it must be by much the larger part that was never built, and therefore in this respect it must give place to *Nineveh*, which was as many furlongs in circuit, as the other, and without any void ground in it, that we are told of. And the number of its infants at the same time, which could not discern between their right hand and their left, which the Scriptures tell us were an hundred and twenty thousand in the time of *Jonah*, doth sufficiently prove it was fully inhabited. It was intended indeed, that *Babylon* should have exceeded it in every thing. But *Nebuchadnezzar* did not live long enough, nor the *Babylonish* Empire last long enough to finish the scheme, that was first drawn of it.

The next great work of *Nebuchadnezzar* at *Babylon* was (y) the Temple of *Belus*. But that which was most remarkable in it was none of his work, but was built many ages before. It was a wonderful Tower, that stood in the middle of it. At the foundation (z) it was a square of a furlong on each side, that is an half of a Mile in the whole compass, and consisted of eight Towers one built above over the other. Some following a mistake of the *Latin* version of *Herodotus*, wherein the lowest of these Towers is said to be a furlong thick and a furlong high, will have each of these Towers to have been a furlong high, which amounts to a mile in the whole. But the *Greek* of *Herodotus*, which is the Authentick Text of that Author, saith no such thing, but only, that it was a furlong long and a furlong broad, without mentioning any thing of its height at all. And *Strabo* in his Description of it, calling it a Pyramid, because of its decreasing or benching in at every Tower, (a) saith of the whole, that it was a furlong high, and a furlong on every

(y) Berosus apud Josephum Antiq. lib. 10. c. 11.
dorus, lib. 1.

(a) Strabo, lib. 16.

(z) Hero-

side.

side. To reckon every Tower a furlong, and the whole a mile high, would shock any man's belief, were the authority of both these Authors for it, much more when there is none at all. Taking it only as it is described by *Strabo* it was prodigious enough. For according to his dimensions only, without adding any thing further, it was one of the wonderfullest works in the world, and much exceeding the greatest of the Pyramids of *Egypt*, which hath been thought to excel all other works in the world besides. For (*b*) although it fell short of that Pyramid at the Basis (where that was a square of 700 foot on every side, and this but of 600) yet it far exceeded it in the height, the perpendicular measure of the said Pyramid being no more than 481 foot, whereas that of the other was full 600, and therefore it was higher than that Pyramid by 119 foot, which is one quarter of the whole. And therefore it was not without reason, that (*c*) *Bochartus* asserts it to have been the very same Tower, which was there built at the Confusion of Tongues. For it was prodigious enough to answer the Scriptures description of it, and it is particularly attested by several Authors to have been all built (*d*) of Bricks and Bitumen, as the Scriptures tell us the Tower of *Babel* was. *Herodotus* saith, that the going up to it was by stairs on the outside round it, from whence it seems most likely, that the whole ascent to it was by the benching-in drawn in a sloping line from the bottom to the top eight times round it, and that this made the appearance of eight Towers one above another, in the same manner as we have the Tower of *Babel* commonly described in pictures, saving only, that whereas that is usually pictur'd round, this was square. For such a benching-in drawn in a slope eight times

(*b*) See Mr. Greave's Description of the Pyramids, p. 68, 69. (c) Phaleg. Part I. lib. 1. c. 9. (d) Strabo, lib. 16. Herodotus, lib. 1. Diodor. Sic. lib. 2. Arrian de Expeditione Alexandri, lib. 7.

round in manner as aforesaid would make the whole seem on every side as consisting of eight Towers, and the upper Tower to be so much less than that next below it, as the breadth of the benching-in amounted to. These eight Towers being as so many stories one above another were each of them 75 foot high, and in them were many great Rooms with arched Roofs supported by Pillars. All which were made parts of the Temple, after the Tower became consecrated to that idolatrous use. The uppermost story of all was that which was most sacred, and where their chiefest devotions were performed. Over the whole on the top of the Tower was (e) an Observatory, by the benefit of which it was, that the *Babylonians* advanced their skill in Astronomy beyond all other Nations, and came to so early a perfection in it, as is related. For when *Alexander* took *Babylon*, *Calisthenes* the Philosopher, who accompanied him thither, found they had Astronomical Observations for 1903 years backward from that time, which carrieth up the account as high as the one hundred and fifteenth year after the Flood, which was within 15 years after the Tower of *Babel* was built. For the confusion of Tongues, which followed immediately after the building of that Tower, hapned in the year wherein *Peleg* was born, which was an hundred and one years after the flood, and fourteen years after that these Observations began. This account *Calisthenes* sent from *Babylon* into *Greece* to his Master *Aristotle*, as *Simplicius* from the Authority of *Porphiry* delivers it unto us in his second Book *De Cælo*. Till the time of *Nebuchadnezzar* the Temple of *Belus* contained no more than this Tower only, and the Rooms in it served all the occasions of that Idolatrous Worship. But (f) he enlarged it by vast buildings erected round it in (g) a Square of two furlongs on every side, and a mile in Circumference, which was 1800

(e) Diodor. Sic. lib. 2. p. 98.
tiq. lib. 10. c. 11.

(f) Berosus apud Josephum Antiq. lib. 1.
(g) Herodotus, lib. 1.

foot more, than (b) the Square at the Temple of *Jerusalem*. For that was but 3000 foot round, whereas this was according to this account 4800. And on the outside of all these buildings there was a Wall enclosing the whole, which may be supposed to have been of equal extent with the Square, in which it stood, that is two miles and an half in compass, in which were several Gates leading into the Temple, all (i) of solid Brass; and the Brazen Sea, the Brazen Pillars, and the other Brazen Vessels, which were carried to *Babylon* from the Temple of *Jerusalem*, seem to have been employed to the making of them. For it is said, that *Nebuchadnezzar* did put all the sacred Vessels, which he carried from *Jerusalem*, (k) into the House of his God at *Babylon*, that is into this House or Temple of *Bel*. For that was the name of the great God of the *Babylonians*. He is supposed to have been the same with *Nimrod*, and to have been called *Bel* from his Dominion, and *Nimrod* from his Rebellion. For *Bel*, or *Baal*, which is the same name, signifieth *Lord*; and *Nimrod* a *Rebel* in the *Jewish* and *Chaldean* Languages; the former was his *Babylonish* Name by reason of his Empire in that place, and the latter his Scripture name by reason of his Rebellion in revolting from God to follow his own wicked designs. This Temple stood till the time of *Xerxes*, but he on his return from his *Grecian* Expedition (l) demolished the whole of it, and laid it all in Rubbish, having first plundered it of all its immense riches, among which were several Images or Statues of massy Gold, and one of them is said by (m) *Diodorus Siculus* to have been forty foot high, which might perchance have been that, which *Nebuchadnezzar* consecrated in the plains of *Dura*. *Nebuchad-*

(b) For it was a Square of 500 Cubits on every side, and 2000 in the whole, i. e. 3000 foot. See Lightfoot's Description of the Temple of *Jerusalem*.

(i) Herodot. lib. 1.

(k) Daniel i. 2. 2 Chron.

xxxvi. 7.

(l) Strabo lib. 16. p. 738.

Herodotus lib. 1. Arrianus de Expeditione Alexandri lib. 7.

(m) Lib. 2.

nezzar's Golden Image is said indeed in Scripture to have been sixty Cubits, *i. e.* 90 foot high, but that must be understood of the Image and Pedestal both together. For that Image being said to have been but six Cubits broad or thick, it is impossible that the Image could have been *sixty* Cubits high. For that makes its height to be ten times its breadth or thickness, which exceeds all the proportions of a man, no man's height being above six times his thickness, measuring the slenderest man living at his waist. But where the breadth of this Image was measured is not said, perchance it was from shoulder to shoulder, and then the proportion of six Cubits breadth will bring down the height exactly to the measure, which *Diodorus* hath mentioned. For the usual height of a man being four and a half of his breadth between the shoulders, if the image were six Cubits broad between the shoulders, it must according to this proportion have been twenty seven Cubits high, which is forty foot and an half. Besides *Diodorus* (n) tells us, that this Image of forty foot high contained a thousand *Babylonish* Talents of Gold, which according to *Pollux* (who in his *Onomasticon* reckons a *Babylonish* Talent to contain 7000 *Attic* Drachma's *i. e.* 875 Ounces). (o) amounts to three millions and a half of our Money. But if we advance the height of the Statue to 90 foot without the pedestal, it will encrease the value to a sum incredible, and therefore it is necessary to take the pedestal also into the height mentioned by *Daniel*. Other Images and sacred Utenfils were also in that Temple, all of solid Gold. Those that are particularly mentioned by *Diodorus* contain 5030 Talents, which with the thousand Talents in the Image above-mentioned amount to above one and twenty millions of our money. And besides this we may well suppose the value of as much more in Treasure and

(n) Lib. 2.

(o) This is according to the lowest computation, valuing an *Attic* Drachm at no more than seven pence half penny, whereas *Dr. Bernard* reckons it to be eight pence farthing, which would mount the sum much higher.

Utenfils not mentioned, which was a vast sum. But it was the Collection of near two thousand years: For so long that Temple had stood. All this *Xerxes* took away, when he destroyed it. And perchance to recruit himself with the plunder, after the vast expence which he had been at in his *Grecian Expedition*, was that which chiefly excited him to the destruction of it, what other reason soever might be pretended for it. *Alexander* on his return to *Babylon* from his *Indian Expedition* (oo) purposed again to have rebuilt it, and in order hereto he did set ten thousand men on work to rid the place of its rubbish, but after they had laboured herein two Months *Alexander* died, before they had perfected much of the undertaking. And this did put an end to all farther proceedings in that design. Had he lived, and made that City the seat of his Empire, as it was (p) supposed he would, the Glory of *Babylon* would no doubt have been advanced by him to the utmost height, that ever *Nebuchadnezzar* intended to have brought it to, and it would again have been the Queen of the East.

Next this Temple (q) on the same East side of the River stood the old Palace of the Kings of *Babylon*, being four miles in compass. Exactly over-against it on the other side of the River (q) stood the new Palace, and this was that (r) which *Nebuchadnezzar* built. It was four times as big as the former, as being (s) eight miles in compass. It was surrounded with three Walls one within another, and strongly fortified according to the way of those times. But what was most wonderful in it, were the hanging Gardens, which were of so celebrated a Name among the *Greeks*. They (t) contained a Square of

(oo) Strabo lib. 16. Josephus contra Apionem lib. 1. Arrianus de Expeditione Alexandri lib. 7.

(p) Strabo lib. 15. p. 731.

(q) Diodor. Sic. lib. 2. Philostratus lib. 1. c. 18. (r) Berosus apud Josephum lib. 10. c. 11.

(s) Diodor. lib. 2. Herodotus lib. 1.

(t) Diodorus Sic. lib. 2. Strabo lib. 16. Q. Curtius lib. 5. c. 1.

four Plethra (that is of four hundred foot) on every side, and were carried up aloft into the air in the manner of several large Terrasses one above another, till the highest equalled the height of the walls of the City. The ascent was from Terrass to Terrass by stairs ten foot wide. The whole Pile was sustained by vast arches built upon arches one above another, and strengthened by a wall surrounding it on every side of 22 foot thickness. The floors of every one of these Terrasses were laid in the same manner, which was thus. On the top of the Arches were first laid large flat stones 16 foot long and four broad, and over them was a layer of Reed mixed with a great quantity of Bitumen, over which were two Rows of bricks closely cemented together by Plaister, and then over all were laid thick sheets of Lead, and lastly upon the Lead was laid the mould of the Garden. And all this floorage was contrived to keep the moisture of the mould from running away down through the Arches. The Mould or Earth laid hereon was of that depth, as to have room enough for the greatest Trees to take rooting in it, and such were planted all over it in every Terrass, as were also all other Trees, Plants, and Flowers, that were proper for a Garden of Pleasure. In the upper Terrass there was an Aqueduct or Engine, whereby water was drawn up out of the River, which from thence watered the whole Garden. *Amyitis* the wife of *Nebuchadnezzar* having been bred in *Media* (for she was the Daughter of *Astyages*, the King of that Country, as hath been before related) had been much taken with the mountainous and woody parts of that Country, and therefore desired to have something like it at *Babylon*, and to gratify her herein was the reason of erecting this monstrous work of vanity.

The other works attributed to him by (u) *Berosus* and (w) *Abydenus*, were the Banks of the River, and

(u) Apud Josephum Antiq. lib. 10. c. 11. & contra Apionem lib. 1.

(w) Apud Eusebium Præpar. Evang. lib. 9.

the artificial Canals, and artificial Lake, which were made for draining of it in the times of the overflows. For (x) on the coming of the Summer the Sun melting the Snow on the mountains of *Armenia*, from thence there is always a great overflow of water during the months of *June*, *July*, and *August*, which running into the *Euphrates*, makes it overflow all its banks during that season, in the same manner as doth the River *Nile* in *Egypt*, whereby the City and Country of *Babylon* suffering great damage, for (y) the preventing hereof he did a great way up the stream cut out of it on the East side two artificial Canals, thereby to drain off these overflowings into the *Tigris*, before they should reach *Babylon*. The (z) farthest of these was the current, which did run into the *Tigris* near *Seleucia*, and the other that which taking its Course between the last mention'd and *Babylon*, discharged it self into the same River over against *Apamia*. Which being very large and navigable for great Vessels (a) was from thence called *Nabarmalcha*, that is in the *Chaldean* language the *Royal River*. This is said to have been made by (b) *Gobaris* or *Gobrias*, who being the Governor of the Province had the overseeing of the work committed to his care, and seemeth to have been the same, who afterwards on a great wrong done him revolted from the *Babylonians* to *Cyrus*, as will be hereafter related. And for the farther securing of the Country *Nebuchadnezzar* built (c) also prodigious Banks of Brick and Bitumen on each side of the River to keep it within its Channel, which (d) were carried along from the head of the said Canals down to the City, and some

(x) Strabo, lib. 16. Plin. lib. 5. c. 26. Arrianus de Expeditione Alexandri, lib. 7. Q. Curtius, lib. 5. c. 1. (y) Abydenus apud Euseb. Præp. Evang. lib. 9. (z) Ptol. lib. 5. c. 18. Plin. lib. 5. c. 26. (a) Abydenus ibid. Ptol. ibid. Plin. lib. 6. c. 26. Polybius, lib. 5. Ammianus Marcellinus, lib. 24. Strabo, lib. 16. p. 747. Isidorus Characenus de Stathmis Parthicis. (b) Plin. l. 6. c. 26. (c) Abydenus, ibid. (d) Herodotus, lib. 1.

way below it. But the most wonderful part of the work was within the City it self. For there (e) on each side of the River he built from the bottom of it a great Wall for its bank of Brick and Bitumen, which was of the same thickness with the Walls of the City, and over-against every street that crossed the said River he made on each side a Brazen Gate in the said Wall, and Stairs leading down from it to the River, from whence the Citizens used to pass by boat from one side to the other, which was the only passage they had over the River, till the Bridge was built, which I have above mentioned. The Gates were open by day, but always shut by night. And this prodigious work (f) was carried on on both sides of the River to the length of 160 Furlongs, which is 20 miles of our measure, and therefore must have been begun two miles and an half above the City, and continued down two miles and an half below it. For thorough the City was no more than fifteen miles. While these Banks were a building the River was turned another way. For which purpose to the West of *Babylon* (g) was made a prodigious artificial Lake, which was (h) according to the lowest Computation 40 miles Square and 160 in Compass, and in depth 35 foot saith *Herodotus*, 75 saith *Megasthenes*. The former seems to measure from the surface of the sides, and the other from the top of the Banks that were cast up upon them. And into this Lake, was the whole River turned by an artificial Canal cut from the West side of it, till all the said work was finished, and then it was returned again into its own former Channel. But that the said River in the time of its increase might not through the Gates above-mentioned overflow the City, this Lake with the

(e) Berofus apud Josephum Antiq. lib. 10. c. 11, (f) Diodor. lib. 2. p. 96. (g) Abydenus, ibid. Herodotus, lib. 1. Diodorus, ibid.

(h) According to Herodotus this Lake was 420 furlongs Square, i.e. fifty two miles and an half on every side, and then the whole compass must be 210 miles. But according to Megasthenes the whole compass was but 40 Parasangæ, i.e. 160 miles, for each Parasanga contained four of our miles.

Canal leading thereto was still preserved, and proved the best, and the most effectual means to prevent it. For whenever the River ris'd to such an height, as to endanger this overflowing, it always discharged it self by this Canal into the Lake through a passage in the Bank of the River at the head of the said Canal, made there of a pitch fit for this purpose, whereby it was prevented from ever rising any higher below that place. And the water received into the Lake at the time of those overflowings was there kept all the year, as in a common Reservatory for the benefit of the Country, to be let out by Sluices at all convenient times for the watering of the Lands below it. So it equally served the Convenience of *Babylon*, and also the Convenience of that part of the Province in improving their Lands, and making them the more fertile, and beneficial to them, though at last it became the cause of great mischief to both. For it afforded to *Cyrus* the means of taking the City, and in the effecting thereof became the cause of drowning a great part of that Country, which was never after again recovered, of both which an account will be hereafter given in its proper place. *Berosus*, *Megasthenes*, and *Abydenus* attribute all these works to *Nebuchadnezzar*, but *Herodotus* tells us, that the Bridge, the River Banks, and the Lake were the work of *Nitocris* his Daughter in Law. Perchance *Nitocris* finished, what *Nebuchadnezzar* had left unperfected at his death, and this procured her with that Historian the Honour of the whole.

All the Flat, whereon *Babylon* stood, being by reason of so many Rivers and Canals running through it made in many places marshy, especially near the said Rivers and Canals, this caused it to abound much in willows, and therefore it is called in Scripture, the *Valley of Willows*. (For so the words *Isaiah* xv. 7. which we translate, *the Brook of the Willows*, ought to be rendred.) And for the same reason the *Jews* (*Psalms* cxxxvii. 1, 2.) are said, when they were by the Rivers of *Babylon* in the Land of their Captivity,

to

to have hung their harps upon the willows, that is because of the abundance of them, which grew by those Rivers.

At the end (i) of twelve months after *Nebuchadnezzar's* last Dream, while he was walking in his Palace at *Babylon*, most likely in his hanging Gardens, and in the uppermost Terrass of them, from whence he might have a full prospect of the whole City, he proudly boasting of his great works done therein said, (k) *Is not this great Babylon, which I have built for the House of the Kingdom by the might of my Power, and for the Honour of my Majesty?* But while the words were yet in his mouth, there came a voice to him from Heaven to rebuke his Pride, which told him, that his Kingdom was departed from him, and that he should be driven from the society of men, and thenceforth for seven years have his dwelling with the wild Beasts of the Field, there to live like them in a brutal manner. And immediately hereon his senses being taken from him he fell into a distracted condition, and continuing so for seven years he lived abroad in the Fields, eating grass like the Oxen, and taking his lodgings on the ground in the open air, as they did, till his hair was grown like Eagles feathers, and his nails like Birds claws. But at the end of seven years his Understanding returning unto him, he was restored again to his Kingdom, and his former Majesty and Honour re-established on him. And hereon being made fully sensible of the Almighty power of the God of Heaven and Earth, and that it is he only, that doth all things according to his will both in the Armies of Heaven, and among the Inhabitants of the Earth, and by his Everlasting Dominion disposeth of all things at his good pleasure, he did by a publick Decree make acknowledgment hereof through all the *Babylonish* Em-

Anno 569.
Nebuchad-
nezzar 36.

Anno 563.
Nebuchad-
nezzar 42.

(i) Daniel iv.

(k) Daniel iv. 30.

pire, praising his almighty power, and magnifying his mercy in his late restoration shewn upon him.

After this he lived only one year, and died, *Anno 562.* having reigned according to the *Babylonish* *Nebuchad-* account from the death of his Father 43 *nezzar 43.* years, and according to the *Jewish* account from his first coming with an army into *Syria* forty five years. His death hapned about the end of the year, a little before the Conclusion of the 37th year of the Captivity of *Jehoiachin*. He was one of the greatest Princes, that had reigned in the East for many ages before him. *Magesthenes* (l) prefers him for his valour to *Hercules*. But his greatness, riches, and power did in nothing more appear, than in his prodigious works at *Babylon* above described, which for many ages after were spoken of as the wonders of the world. He is (m) said at his death to have prophesied of the coming of the *Persians*, and their bringing of the *Babylonians* in subjection to them. But in this he spake no more, than what he had been informed of by *Daniel* the Prophet, and in the Interpretation of his dreams been assured by him should speedily come to pass, as accordingly it did within 23 years after.

On the death of this great Prince (n) *Anno 561.* *Evilmerodach* his son succeeded him in the *Babylonish* Empire; and as soon as he was *Evilmero-* settled in the Throne, he released *Jehoiachin* King of *Judah* out of Prison, after he had lain there near thirty seven years, and promoted him to great honour in his Palace, admitting him to eat bread continually at his Table, and placing him there before all the other Kings, and great men of his Empire, that came to him to *Babylon*, and also made him a dayly allowance to support him with an

(l) Abydenus ibid. Josephus Antiq. lib. 10. c. 11. Strabo lib. 15. p. 687. (m) Abydenus ibid. (n) 2 Kings xxv. 27. Jeremiah lii. 31. Berosus apud Josephum contra Apionem lib. 1. Et Euseb. præp. Evang. lib. 9.

Equipage in all things else suitable hereto. *Jerom* (o) tells us from an ancient Tradition of the *Jews*, that *Evilmerodach* having had the Government of the *Babylonish* Empire during his Father's distraction, administered it so ill, that as soon as the old King came again to himself, he put him in prison for it; and that the place of his imprisonment hapning to be the same where *Jehoiachin* had long lain, he there entered into a particular acquaintance and friendship with him, and that this was the cause of the great kindness, which he afterwards shewed him. And since the old Historical Traditions of the *Jews* (p) are often quoted in the new Testament, if this were such, it is not wholly to be disregarded, and that especially since the male administrations, which *Evilmerodach* was guilty of after his Father's death, give reason enough to believe, that he could not govern without them before. For he (q) proved a very profligate and vicious Prince, and for that reason was called *Evilmerodach*, that is *Foolish Merodach*. For his proper name was only *Merodach*. But whatsoever was the inducing reason, this favour he shewed to the Captive Prince, as soon as his Father was dead. So that the last year of *Nebuchadnezzar's* Reign, was the last of the 37 years of *Jehoiachin's* Captivity, and this shews us when it begun, and serves to the connecting of the Chronology of the *Babylonish* and *Jewish* History in all other particulars. For which reason it may be useful to have a particular state of this matter, which I take to have been as followeth. In the 7th year of the reign of *Nebuchadnezzar* according to the *Babylonish* account, (qq) in the beginning of the *Jewish* year, that is in the month of *April* according to our year, *Jehoiachin* was carried captive to *Babylon*. And

(o) Comment. in *Esaïam* xiv. 19.(p) By *St. Stephen* Acts vii.By *St. Paul* to the *Hebrews* xi. 35, 36, 37. and to *Timothy* Ep. 2. iii. 8. and by *St. Jude* 9, 14, 15.(q) *Berosus* ibid.(qq) 2 *Chron.*

xxxvi. 10. for there it is said, that it was at the return of the year.

therefore the first year of his Captivity beginning in the month of *April* in the seventh year of *Nebuchadnezzar*, the 37th year of it must begin in the same month of *April* in the 43d year of *Nebuchadnezzar*, towards the end whereof that great King dying; with the beginning of the next year began the first year of the reign of *Evilmerodach*, and the *March* following, (r) that is on the 27th day of the twelfth or last month of the *Jewish* year, *Jehoiachin* was by the great favour of the new King released from his Captivity in the manner as is above expressed, about a month before he had fully compleated thirty seven years in it.

Anno 561.
Evilmerodach 1.

In the same year, which was the first of *Evilmerodach* at *Babylon*, (rr) *Cræsus* succeeded *Alyattes* his father in the Kingdom of *Lydia*, and reigned there 14 years. This was the 28th year after the destruction of *Jerusalem*, and the 46th of the 70 years captivity of *Judah*.

When *Evilmerodach* had reigned two years at *Babylon*, his lusts, and his other wickedness made him so intolerable, (s) that at length even his own Relations conspired against him, and put him to death, and (t) *Neriglissar* his Sister's Husband, who was the Head of the Conspiracy against him, reigned in his stead. And since it is said,

Anno 559.
Neriglissar 1.

that *Jehoiachin* was (u) fed by him until the day of his death, it is inferred from hence, that he did not outlive him, but that he either died a little before him, or else as a favourite was slain with him. The last seemeth most probable, as best agreeing with the Prophecy of *Jeremiah* concerning him. For it is therein denounced against him, (w) that he should not prosper in his days, which could not be

(r) 2 Kings xxxv. 27. Jer. lii. 31. (rr) Herodotus lib. 1.
(s) Berosus ibid. Megasthenes apud Eusebium Præp. Evang. lib. 9.
(t) Berosus ibid. Ptolem. in Canone. Josephus Antiq. lib. 10. c. 12.
Megasthenes ibid. (u) Jer. lii. 33. (w) Jer. xxii. 30.

so well verified of him, if he died in full possession of all that Prosperity, which *Evilmerodach* advanced him unto.

On the death of *Jehoiachin*, *Salathiel* his son (x) became the nominal Prince of the *Jews* after him. For after the Loss of the Authority they still kept up the Title, and for a great many ages after in the Parts about *Babylon* there was always one of the House of *David*, which by the name of (y) *The Head of the Captivity* was acknowledged and honoured as a Prince among that People, and had some sort of Jurisdiction, as far as it was consistent with the Government they were under, always invested in him, and sometimes a Ratification was obtained of it from the Princes, that reigned in that Country. And it is said, (z) this Pageantry is still kept up among them, and chiefly, it seems, that they may be furnished from hence with an answer to give the Christians, when they urge the Prophecy of *Jacob* against them. For whensoever from that Prophecy it is pressed upon them that the *Messiah* must be come, because the Scepter is now departed from *Judah*, and there is no more a Lawgiver among them from between his feet, we are commonly told of *This Head of the Captivity*, their usual answer being, That the Scepter is still preserved among them in *The Head of the Captivity*; And that they have also in their (a) *Nasi* or *Prince of the Sanhedrim* (another Pageantry Officer of theirs) a Lawgiver from between the feet of *Judah* (that is of his seed) still remaining in *Israel*. But if these Officers are now ceased from among them, as some of them will acknowledge, then this answer must cease also, and the Prophecy returns in its full force upon

(x) 2 Ezdras v. 16.

(y) De eo vide Notas Constantini l'Empereur ad Benjamini Itinerarium, p. 192, 193, &c.

(z) Vide

Jacobi Altingi Librum *Shilo*, lib. 1. c. 3. 13, 14, 15, &c. Et Seldenum de Synedriis, lib. 2. c. 7. § 5.

(a) Vide Buxtorfii Lexicon Rabbinicum, p. 1399. & Seldenum de Synedriis, lib. 2. c. 6.

them, and why do they then any longer resist the power of it?

The same year that *Evilmerodach* was slain, died (b) *Astyages* King of *Media*, and after him succeeded *Cyaxares* the second, his son, in the Civil Government of the Kingdom, and *Cyrus* his Grandson by his daughter *Mandana*, in the Military. *Cyrus* at this time was (c) forty years old, and *Cyaxares* (d) forty one. And from this year those, who reckon to *Cyrus* a reign of thirty years, begin that computation. For *Neriglissar* on his coming to the Crown (e) making great Preparations for a War against the *Medes*, *Cyaxares* called *Cyrus* out of *Persia* to his assistance, and on his arrival with an Army of thirty thousand *Persians*, *Cyaxares* made him General of the *Medes* also, and sent him with the joynt Forces of both Nations to make war against the *Babylonians*. And from this time he was reckoned by all foreigners as King over both these Nations, altho' in reality the Regal power was solely in *Cyaxares*, and *Cyrus* was no more than General of the Confederate Army under him. But after his Death he succeeded him in the Kingdom of the *Medes*, as he did his Father a little before in that of *Persia*, which with the Countries he had conquer'd made up the *Persian* Empire, of which he was the Founder, and first Monarch.

He was a very extraordinary person in the age, in which he lived, for wisdom, valour and virtue, and of a name famous in Holy writ, not only for being (f) the restorer of the state of *Israel*, but especially in being there appointed for it (g) by name many years before he was born. Which is an honour there-

(b) *Cyropedia* lib. 1. (c) *Cicero* lib. 1. De *Divinatione* dicit de *Cyro*—*Ad Septuagesimum pervenit cum quadraginta annos natus regnare cepisset.*

(d) For he was 62 when he began to reign in *Babylon* after the death of *Belshazzar*, *Dan. v. 31.* which being nine years before *Cyrus's* death (who lived 70 years) it must follow that *Cyrus* was then 61, and therefore when he was 40, *Cyaxares* must have been 41.

(e) *Cyropedia* lib. 1.

(f) *Ezra* i.

(g) *Isaiah* xlv. 28. & xlv. 1.

in given to none save only to him, and (b) *Josiah* King of *Judah*. He was born (as hath been already taken notice of) on the same year in which *Jehoia-kim* died. It is on all hands agreed, that his Mother was *Mandana* the daughter of *Astyages* King of the *Medes*, and his Father *Cambyfes* a *Persian*. But whether this *Cambyfes* was King of that Country, or only a private person, is not agreed. *Herodotus*, and those who follow him, allow him to have been no more than a private Nobleman of the Family of *Achæmenes*, one of the ancientest in that Country. But *Xenophon*'s account makes him King of the *Persians*, but subject to the *Medes*. And not only in this particular, but also in most things else concerning this great Prince, the relations of these two Historians are very much different. But *Herodotus*'s account of him containing Narratives, which are much more strange, and surprizing, and consequently more diverting, and acceptable to the Reader, most have chosen rather to follow him, than *Xenophon*, that have written after their times of this matter. Which humour was much forwarded by *Plato* in his (i) giving a Character of *Xenophon*'s History of *Cyrus* (in which he was also followed by (k) *Tully*) as if therein under the name of *Cyrus* he rather drew a Description of what a worthy and just Prince ought to be, than gave us a true History of what that Prince really was. It must be acknowledged, that *Xenophon* being a great Commander, as well as a great Philosopher, did graft many of his Maxims of War, and Policy, into that History, and to make it a vehicle for this perchance was his whole design in writing that Book. But it doth not follow from hence, but that still the whole foundation and ground-plot of the work may all be true History. That he intended it for such, is plain; and that it was so, its Agreeableness with the Holy writ doth abundantly verify.

(b) 1 Kings xiii. 2.
Quintum fratrem.

(i) De Legibus lib. 3.

(k) Ep. 1. ad

And the true reason, why he chose the Life of *Cyrus* before all others for the purpose above-mentioned, seemeth to be no other but that he found the true History of that excellent and gallant Prince to be above all others the fittest for those maxims of right Policy and true Princely Virtue to correspond with, which he grafted upon it. And therefore, bating the Military and Political Reflections, the Descants, Discourses, and Speeches interspers'd in that Work, which must be acknowledged to have been all of *Xenophon's* Addition, the remaining bare matters of fact I take to have been related by that Author, as the true History of *Cyrus*. And thus far I think him to have been an Historian of much better Credit in this matter, than *Herodotus*. For *Herodotus* having travelled through *Egypt*, *Syria*, and several other Countries, in order to the writing of his History, did as Travellers use to do, that is put down all Relations upon trust, as he met with them, and no doubt he was imposed on in many of them. But *Xenophon* was a Man of another Character, (*l*) who wrote all things with great judgment, and due consideration, and having lived in the Court of *Cyrus the younger*, a Descendant of the *Cyrus*, whom we now speak of, had opportunities of being better informed of what he wrote of this great Prince, than *Herodotus* was, and confining himself to this Argument only, no doubt, he examined all matters relating to it more thoroughly, and gave a more accurate and exact account of them, than could be expected from the other, who wrote of all things at large, as they came in his way. And for these reasons in all things relating to this Prince I have chosen to follow *Xenophon*, rather than any of those who differ from him.

For the first (*m*) 12 years of his Life *Cyrus* lived in *Persia* with his father, and was there educated after the *Persian* manner in hardship, and toil, and all such exercises, as would best tend to fit him for the fa-

(*l*) Diogenes Laertius in vita Xenophontis. (*m*) Cyroped. lib. 1. tigues

tigues of War, in which he exceeded all his Contemporaries. But here it must be taken notice of, that the name of *Persia* did then extend only to one Province of that large Country, which hath been since so called. For then the whole Nation of the *Persians* could number no more than (n) 120000 men. But afterwards, when by the wisdom and valour of *Cyrus* they had obtained the Empire of the East, the name of *Persia* became enlarged with their Fortunes, and it thenceforth took in all that vast Tract, which is extended East and West from the River *Indus* to the *Tygris*, and North and South from the *Caspian* Sea to the Ocean. And so much that name comprehends even to this Day. After *Cyrus* was twelve years old, he was sent for into *Media* by *Astyages* his Grandfather, with whom he continued five years. And there by the sweetness of his temper, his generous behaviour, and his constant endeavour to do good offices with his Grandfather for all he could, he did so win the hearts of the *Medes* to him, and gained such an interest among them, as did afterwards turn very much to his advantage for the winning of that Empire, which he erected. In the 16th year of his age *Evilmerodach* the son of *Nebuchadnezzar* King of *Babylon* and *Affyria* being abroad on an hunting Expedition a little before his Marriage, for a shew of his bravery made an inroad into the Territories of the *Medes*, which drew out (o) *Astyages* with his forces to oppose him. On which occasion *Cyrus* accompanying his Grandfather then first entered the school of War, in which he behaved himself so well, that the victory, which was at that time gained over the *Affyrians*, was chiefly owing to his valour. The next year after he went home to his father into *Persia*, and there continued till the 40th year of his Life. At

(n) Cyropedia lib. 1.

(o) From hence it may be inferred, that *Evilmerodach* was not the son of *Nebuchadnezzar* by *Amyitis* the Daughter of *Astyages*, but by some other wife, it not being likely, that the Grandfather and Grandson would thus engage in war against each other.

which time he was called forth to the assistance of his Uncle *Cyaxares* on the occasion which I have mentioned. Hereon he marched out of *Persia* with his Army, and behaved himself so wisely, that from this small beginning in twenty years time he made himself master of the greatest Empire, that had ever been erected in the East to that time, and established it with such wisdom, that upon the strength of this foundation only it stood above 200 years, notwithstanding what was done by his successors (the worst race of men, that ever governed an Empire) through all that time to overthrow it.

Neriglissar, upon intelligence that *Cyrus* was come with so great an Army to the assistance of the *Medes*, farther to strengthen himself against them (p) sent Ambassadors to the *Lydians*, *Phrygians*, *Carians*, *Cappadocians*, *Cilicians*, *Paphlagonians*, and other neighbouring Nations, to call them to his aid, and by representing to them the strength of the Enemy, and the necessity of maintaining the Ballance of Power against them for the common good of *Asia*, drew them all into Confederacy with him for the ensuing war. Whereon

the King of *Armenia*, who had hitherto lived in subjection to the *Medes*, looking on them as ready to be swallowed up by so formidable a confederacy against them, thought this a fit time for the recovering of his Liberty, and therefore (q) refused any longer to pay his Tribute, or send his quota of Auxiliaries for the war on their being required of him; which being a matter that might be of dangerous Consequence to the *Medes* in the Example it might give to other dependant States to do the same, *Cyrus* thought it necessary to crush this Revolt with the utmost expedition, and therefore marching immediately with the best of his Horse, and covering his design under the pretence of an Hunting match, (r) entered *Armenia* before there

(p) Cyropedia lib. 1. (q) Cyropedia lib. 2. (r) Cyropedia lib. 3. was

was any intelligence of his coming, and having surprized the revolted King took him and all his family prisoners and after this having seized the Hills towards *Chaldea*, and planted good Forts and Garrisons on them for the securing of the Country against the Enemy on that side, he came to new Terms with the Captive King, and having received from him the Tribute and the Auxiliaries, which he demanded, he restored him again to his Kingdom, and returned to the rest of his Army in *Media*. This hapned about the third year of the reign of *Neriglissar*, and the 32d after the Destruction of *Jerusalem*.

After both parties had now been for three years together forming their alliances, and making their preparations for the war, in the fourth year of *Neriglissar*, the confederates on both sides being all drawn together, both Armies took the field, (s) and it came to a fierce battle between them, in which *Neriglissar* being slain, the rest of the *Assyrian* Army was put to the rout, and *Cyrus* had the victory. *Cræsus* King of *Lydia*, after the death of *Neriglissar*, as being in dignity next to him, took upon him the command of the vanquished army, and made as good a retreat with it, as he could. But the next day following *Cyrus* pursuing after them overtook them at a disadvantage, and put them to an absolute rout, taking their Camp, and dispossessing them of all their baggage, which he effected chiefly by the assistance of the *Hyrceanians*, who had the night before revolted to him. Hereon *Cræsus* taking his flight out of *Assyria* made the best of his way into his own Country. He being aware of what might happen, had the night before sent away his Women, and the best of his baggage, and therefore in this respect escaped much better than the rest of the Confederates.

The death of *Neriglissar* was a great loss to the *Babylonians*. For he was (t) a very brave and excel-

(s) Cyropedia lib. 3 & 4.

(t) Cyropedia lib. 4.

lent Prince. The Preparations, which he made for the War, shewed his wisdom, and his dying in it his valour. And there was nothing else wanting in him for his obtaining of better success in it; and therefore, that he had it not, was owing to nothing else, but that he had to deal with the predominant fortune of *Cyrus*, whom God had designed for the Empire of the East, and therefore nothing was to withstand him. But nothing made the loss of *Neriglissar* more appear, than the succeeding of *Laborosoarchod* his son in the Kingdom after him. For he was (u) in every thing the reverse of his Father, being given to all manner of wickedness, cruelty, and injustice, to which on his advancement to the Throne he did let himself loose in the utmost excess, without any manner of restraint whatsoever, as if the Regal Office, which he was now advanced to, were for nothing else, but to give him a Privilege of doing without controul all the vile and flagitious things that he pleased. Two Acts of his Tyrannical violence towards two of his principal Nobility, *Gobrias*, and *Gadates*, are particularly mentioned. The only son of the former he slew at an hunting, to which he had invited him, for no other reason, but that he had thrown his dart with success at a wild Beast, when he himself had missed it. And the other he caused to be castrated, only because one of his Concubines had commended him for an handsom man. These wrongs done those two noblemen, drove them with the Provinces which they govern'd, into a Revolt to *Cyrus*, and the whole State of the *Babylonish* Empire suffered by it. For *Cyrus* encouraged hereby (w) penetrated into the very heart of the Enemies Country, first taking possession of the Province, and garrisoning the Castles of *Gobrias*, and afterward doing the same in the Province and Castles of *Gadates*. The *Assyrian* King was before him in the latter, to be revenged on *Gadates* for his Revolt. But *Cyrus*

(u) Cyropedia lib. 4 & 5.

(w) Cyropedia lib. 5.

on his coming having put him to the rout, and slain a great number of his men, forced him again to retreat to *Babylon*. After *Cyrus* had thus spent the summer in ravaging the whole Country, and twice shewn himself before the walls of *Babylon* to provoke the Enemy to battle, at the end of the year he led back his Army again towards *Media*, and ending the Campaign with the taking of three fortresses on the frontiers, there entered into winter Quarters, and sent for *Cyaxares* to come thither to him, that they might consult together about the future operations of the war.

As soon as *Cyrus* was retreated, *Laborosoarchod* being now freed from the fear of the Enemy, gave himself a thorough loose to all the flagitious inclinations that were predominant in him, which carryed him into so many wicked and unjust actions, like those which *Gobrias* and *Gadates* had suffered from him, that being no longer tolerable, his (x) own people conspired against him and slew him, after he had reigned only nine months. He is not named in the Canon of *Ptolemy*, for it is the method of that Canon to ascribe all the year to him that was King in the beginning of it, how soon soever he died after, and not to reckon the reign of the successor, but from the first day of the year ensuing, and therefore if any King reigned in the interim, and did not live to the beginning of the next year, his name was not put into the Canon at all. And this was the case of *Laborosoarchod*. For *Neriglissar* his father being slain in battle in the beginning of the spring, the nine months of his son's reign ended before the next year began, and therefore the whole of that year is reckoned to the last of *Neriglissar*, and the beginning of the next belonged to his successor, and this was the reason that he is not at all mentioned in that Canon.

After him succeeded (y) *Nabonadius*, Anno 555.
and reigned seventeen years. (z) *Berosus* Belshazzar 1.

(x) *Berosus* apud *Josephum* contra *Apionem* lib. 1. *Megasthenes* apud *Euseb.* *Præp. Evang.* lib. 9. *Josephus* *Antiq.* lib. 10. c. 12. (y) *Can. Ptol.*
(z) Apud *Josephum* contra *Apionem* lib. 1.

calls him *Nabonnedus*, *Megasthenes* (a) *Nabonnidochus*, *Herodotus* (b) *Labynetus*, and *Josephus* (c) *Naboandelus*, who, he saith, is the same with *Belsazzar*. And there is as great a difference among writers, what he was, as well as what he was called. Some (d) will have him to be of the Royal blood of *Nebuchadnezzar*, and (e) others no way at all related to him. And some say (f) he was a *Babylonian*, and others (g) that he was of the seed of the *Medes*. And of those who allow him to have been of the Royal Family of *Nebuchadnezzar*, some will have it, that he was his Son, and others, that he was his Grandson. For the clearing of this matter these following particulars are to be taken notice of, 1st, That he is on all hands agreed to have been the last of the *Babylonish* Kings. 2^{dly}, That therefore he must have been the same, who in Scripture is called *Belsazzar*: For immediately after the death of *Belsazzar* the Kingdom was given to the *Medes* and *Persians* [*Dan. v. 28, 30, 31.*] 3^{dly}, That he was of the Seed of *Nebuchadnezzar*, for he is called his son, and *Nebuchadnezzar* is said to be his Father, in several places of the same 5th Chapter of *Daniel*, and in the 2^d Book of *Chronicles* [*Chap. xxxvi. 20.*] it is said that *Nebuchadnezzar* and his Children, or Offspring, reigned at *Babylon* 'till the Kingdom of *Persia*. 4^{thly}, That the Nations of the East were to serve *Nebuchadnezzar*, and his son, and his son's son, according to the Prophecy of *Jeremiah*, (*Cb. xxvii. 7*) and therefore he must have had a son, and a son's son successors to him in the Throne of *Babylon*. 5^{thly}, That as *Evilmerodach* was his son, so none but *Belsazzar* of all the Kings, that reigned after him at *Babylon*, could be his son's son. For *Neriglissar* was only his Daughter's Husband, and *Labo-*

(a) Apud Euseb. Præp. Evang. lib. 9.

(b) Herodot. lib. 1.

(c) Antiq. lib. 10. c. 11.

(d) Josephus, ibid.

(e) Megasthenes, ibid.

(f) Berosus, ibid.

(g) Scaliger in notis ad Fragmenta veterum Græcorum selecta, & de Emendatione Temporum, lib. 6. Cap. De Regibus Babylonis.

rofoarchod was the son of *Nerigliffar*, and therefore neither of them was either son, or son's son to *Nebuchadnezzar*. 6thly, That this last King of *Babylon* is said by (b) *Herodotus* to be son to the great Queen *Nitocris*, and therefore she must have been the wife of a King of *Babylon* to make her so, and he could have been none other than *Evilmerodach*. For by that King of *Babylon* only could she have a son, that was son's son to *Nebuchadnezzar*. And therefore putting all this together it appears, that this *Nabonadius* the last King of *Babylon* was the same with him, that in Scripture is called *Belsazzar*, and that he was the son of *Evilmerodach* by *Nitocris* his Queen, and so son's son to *Nebuchadnezzar*. And that whereas he is called the son of *Nebuchanezzar* in the 5th Chapter of *Daniel*, and *Nebuchadnezzar* is there called his Father, this is to be understood in the large sense, wherein any Ancestor upward is often called Father, and any Descendant down Son, according to the usual stile of Scripture.

This new King came young to the Crown, and had he been wholly left to himself, the *Babylonians* would have gotten but little by the change. For he hath in *Xenophon* the Character (i) of an impious Prince, and it sufficiently appears by what is said of him in *Daniel*, that he was so. But his Mother, who was a woman (k) of great understanding and a masculine spirit, came in to their relief. For while her son followed his pleasures she took the main burden of the Government upon her, and did all that could be done by humane wisdom to preserve it. But God's appointed time for its fall approaching, it was beyond the power of any wisdom to prevent it.

On the coming of *Cyaxares* to *Cyrus's* Camp, and (l) Consultation thereon had between them concerning the future carrying on of the War, it was found, that by ravaging and plundering the Countries of the

(b) *Herodotus*, lib. 1. (i) *Cyropedia*, lib. 7. (k) *Herodotus*, lib. 1.
(l) *Cyropedia*, lib. 6.

Babylonish Empire, they did not at all enlarge their own, and therefore it was resolved to alter the method of the war for the future, and to apply themselves to the besieging of the Fortresses and the taking of their Towns, that so they might make themselves masters of the Country, and in this sort of war they employed themselves for the next seven years.

In the mean time (m) *Nitocris* did all that she could to fortify the Country against them, and especially the City of *Babylon*, and therefore did set herself diligently to perfect all the works, that *Nebuchadnezzar* had left unfinished there, especially the Walls of the City, and the Banks of the River within it. By this last she fortified the City as much against the River by Walls and Gates, as it was against the Land, and had it been in both places equally guarded, it could never have been taken. And moreover while the River was turned for the finishing of these Banks and Walls, she (n) caused a wonderful Vault or Gallery to be made under the River, leading cross it from the old Palace to the new, twelve foot high, and fifteen foot wide, and having covered it over with a strong Arch, and over that with a layer of Bitumen six foot thick, she turned the River again over it. For it is the nature of that Bitumen to petrify, when water comes over it, and grow as hard as stone, and thereby the Vault or Gallery under was preserved from having any of the water of the River pierce through into it. The use, this was intended for, was to preserve a communication between the two Palaces, whereof one stood on the one side of the River, and the other on the other side, that in case one of them were distressed (for they were both Fortresses strongly fortified) it might be relieved from the other, or in case either were taken, there might be a way to retreat from it to the other. But all these cautions and provisions ser-

(m) Herodotus lib. 1.
Philostratus lib. 1. c. 18.

(n) Herodotus lib. 1. Diodorus Sic. lib. 2.

ved in no stead, when the City was taken by surprise, because in that hurry and confusion, which men were then in, none of them were made use of.

In the first year of this King's Reign, which was the 34th after the destruction of *Jerusalem*, *Daniel* had revealed unto him the vision of the four Monarchies, and of the Kingdom of the *Messiah*, that was to succeed after them, which is at full related in the 7th Chapter of *Daniel*.

Anno 555.
Belshazzar 1.

In the 3d year of King *Belshazzar*, *Daniel* saw the vision of the Ram, and the He-Goat, whereby were signified the overthrow of the *Persian* Empire by *Alexander* the Great, and the Persecution that was to be raised against the *Jews* by *Antiochus Epiphanes* King of *Syria*. This vision is at full related in the 8th Chapter of *Daniel*, and it is there said, that it was revealed unto him at *Shushan* in the Palace of the King of *Babylon*, while he attended there as a Counsellour, and Minister of State about the King's business, which shews, that *Shushan* with the Province of *Elam*, of which it was the Metropolis, was then in the hands of the *Babylonians*. But about three years after *Abradates* Vice-Roy or Prince of *Shushan* revolting to *Cyrus*, it was thenceforth joined to the Empire of the *Medes* and *Persians*, and the *Elamites* came up with the *Medes* to besiege *Babylon* according to the Prophecy of *Isaiah* (ch. xxi. 2.) and *Elam* was again restored according to the Prophecy of *Jeremiah* (ch. xlix. 39.) For it recovered its liberty again under the *Persians*, which it had been deprived of under the *Babylonians*.

Anno 553.
Belshazzar 3.

The *Medes* and *Persians* growing still upon the *Babylonians*, and *Cyrus* making great progress in his conquests by taking Fortresses, Towns, and Provinces from them, to put a stop to this prevailing power (o) the King of *Babylon* about the fifth year of his Reign taking a

Anno 551.
Belshazzar 5.

(o) Cyropedia lib. 6.

great part of his Treasure with him, goes into *Lydia* to King *Cræsus* his Confederate, and there by his assistance framed a very formidable confederacy against the *Medes* and *Persians*, and with his money hiring a very numerous Army of *Egyptians*, *Greeks*, *Thracians*, and all the Nations of Lesser *Asia*, he appointed *Cræsus* to be their General, and sent him with them to invade *Media*, and then returned again to *Babylon*.

Cyrus having full intelligence of all these proceedings from one of his confidants, who by his order under the pretence of a Deserter had gone over to the Enemy, made suitable Preparations to withstand the storm, and when all was ready, marched against the Enemy.

By this time *Cræsus* (p) had passed over the River *Halys*, taken the City of *Pteria*, and in a manner destroyed all the Country thereabout. But before he could pass any farther *Cyrus* came up with him, and having engaged him in battel put all his numerous army to flight; whereon *Cræsus* returning to *Sardis*, the chief City of his Kingdom, dismissed all his Auxiliaries to their respective homes, ordering them to be again with him by the beginning of the ensuing Spring, and sent to all his Allies for the raising of more Forces to be ready against the same time for the carrying on of the next year's war, not thinking that in the interim, now winter being approaching, he should have any need of them. But *Cyrus* pursuing the advantage of his victory followed close after him into *Lydia*, and there came upon him just as he had dismissed his Auxiliaries. However *Cræsus* getting together all his own Forces stood battel against him. But the *Lydians* being most Horse, *Cyrus* brought his Camels against them, whose smell the Horses not being able to bear, they were all put into disorder by it, whereon the *Lydians* dismounting fought on foot, but being soon over-powered were forced to make their retreat to *Sardis*, where *Cyrus* immediately shut them up in a close Siege.

Anno 548.
Belshazzar 8.

(p) Herodotus lib. 1. Cyropedia lib. 6.

While he lay there, he (q) celebrated the Funeral of *Abradates* and *Panthea* his Wife. He was Prince of *Shushan* under the *Babylonians*, and had revolted to *Cyrus* about two years before, as hath been already mentioned. His Wife, a very beautiful Woman, (r) had been taken Prisoner by *Cyrus* in his first Battle against the *Babylonians*. *Cyrus* having treated her kindly, and kept her chafly for her husband, the (s) sense of this Generosity drew over this Prince to him, and he hapning to be slain in this war, as he was fighting valiantly in his service, his Wife out of grief for his death slew herself upon his dead body, and *Cyrus* took care to have them both honourably buried together, and a stately monument was erected over them near the River *Pactolus*, where it remained many ages after.

Cræsus being shut up in *Sardis* (t) sent to all his Allies for Succours, but *Cyrus* pressed the Siege so vigorously, that he took the City before any of them could arrive to its relief, and *Cræsus* in it, whom he condemned to be burnt to death, and accordingly a great Pile of Wood was laid together, and he was placed on the top of it for the Execution, in which extremity calling to mind the conference he formerly had with *Solon*, cried out with a great sigh three times, *Solon, Solon, Solon*. This *Solon* (u) was a wise *Athenian*, and the greatest Philosopher of his time, who coming to *Sardis* on some occasion, *Cræsus* out of the Vanity and Pride of his mind caused all his Riches, Treasures and Stores to be shewn unto him, expecting that on his having seen them he should have applauded his felicity, and pronounced him of all men the most happy herein. But on his discourse with him *Solon* plainly told him, that he could pronounce no man happy, as long as he lived, because no one could foresee what might happen unto him before

(q) Cyropedia lib. 7.

(r) Cyropedia lib. 5.

(s) Cyropedia

lib. 6.

(t) Herodotus lib. 1.

Cyropedia lib. 7.

(u) Plutarchus in

vita Solonis. Herodotus lib. 1.

his Death. Of the truth of which *Cræsus* being now thoroughly convinced by his present calamity, this made him call upon the name of *Solon*: whereon *Cyrus*, sending to know what he meant by it, had the whole story related to him, which excited in him such a sense of the uncertainty of all human felicity, and such a compassion for *Cræsus*, that he caused him to be taken down from the Pile, just as fire had been put to it, and not only spared his life, but allowed him a very honourable Subsistence, and made use of him, as one of his chief Counsellors, all his life after, and at his death recommended him to his son *Cambyfes*, as the person whose advice he would have him chiefly to follow. The taking of this City hapned (w) in the first year of the 58th Olympiad, which was the 8th year of *Belsbazzar*, and the 41st after the destruction of *Jerusalem*.

Cræsus being a very religious Prince according to the Idolatrous Superstition of those times, (x) entered not on this war without having first consulted all his Gods, and taken their advice about it, and he had two Oracular Answers given him from them, which chiefly conduced to lead him into this unfortunate undertaking, that cost him the loss of his Kingdom. The one of them was, That *Cræsus* should then only think himself in danger, (y) when a Mule should reign over the *Medes*; and the other, That when he should pass over *Halys* to make war upon the *Medes*, he should overthrow a great Empire. The first from the impossibility of the thing, that ever a Mule should be a King, made him argue, that he was for ever safe. The second made him believe, that the Empire, that he should overthrow on his passing over the River *Halys*, should be the Empire

(w) Solinus cap. 7. Eusebius in Chronico. (x) Herodotus lib. 1. Cyropedia lib. 7. (y) Nebuchadnezzar prophesied of the coming of *Cyrus* under the same appellation, telling the Babylonians at the time of his death that a Persian Mule should come and reduce them into servitude. So saith Megasthenes in Eusebius de Præp. Evang. lib. 7.

of the *Medes*. And this chiefly encouraged him in this Expedition, contrary to the advice of one of the wisest of his Friends, who earnestly dissuaded him from it. But now all things having hapned otherwise, than these Oracles had made him expect, he obtained leave of *Cyrus* to send Messengers to the Temples of those Gods, who had thus mis-led him, to expostulate with them about it. The Answers, which he had hereto, were, That *Cyrus* was the Mule intended by the Oracle, for that he was born of two different kinds of people, of the *Persians* by his Father, and of the *Medes* by his Mother, and was of the more noble kind by his Mother. And the Empire, which he was to overthrow by his passing over the *Halys*, was his own. By such false and fallacious Oracles did those evil Spirits, from whom they proceeded, delude mankind in those days, rendering their answers, when consulted, in such dubious and ambiguous Terms, that whatsoever the event were, they might admit of an Interpretation to agree with it.

After this *Cyrus* (2) continued some time in Lesser *Asia*, till he had brought all the several Nations which inhabited in it from the *Egean* Sea to the *Euphrates* into thorough Subjection to him. From hence he went into *Syria* and *Arabia*, and there did the same thing, and then marched into the upper Countries of *Asia*, and having there also settled all things in a thorough Obedience under his Dominion, he again entred *Assyria*, and marched on towards *Babylon*, that being the only place of all the *East*, which now held out against him. And having overthrown *Belshazzar* in battel he shut him up in *Babylon*, and there besieged him. This hapned in the ninth year after the taking of *Sardis*, and in the beginning of the sixteenth year of *Belshazzar*. But this Siege proved a very difficult work. For the Walls were high and impregnable,

Anno 540.

Belshazzar 16.

(2) Herodotus lib. 1. Cyropedia lib. 7.

the number of Men within to defend them very great, and they were fully furnished with all sorts of Provisions for twenty years, and (a) the void ground within the walls was able both by tillage and pasturage to furnish them with much more. And therefore the Inhabitants thinking themselves secure in their walls and their stores, looked on the taking of the City by a Siege as an impracticable thing, and therefore from the top of their walls scoffed at *Cyrus*, and derided him for every thing he did towards it. However he went on with the attempt, and first he drew a line of circumvallation round the City, making the ditch broad and deep, and by the help of Palm-trees (aa) which usually grow in that Country to the height of an hundred foot, he erected Towers higher than the walls, thinking at first to have been able to take the place by assault; but finding little success this way, he applied himself wholly to the starving of it into a Surrender, reckoning that the more people there were within, the sooner the work would be done. But that he might not over-fatigue his army by detaining them all at this work, he divided all the Forces of the Empire into twelve parts, and appointed each its month to guard the Trenches. But after near two years had been wasted this way, and nothing effected, he at length lighted on a stratagem, which with little difficulty made him Master of the place.

Anno 539.

Belshazzar 17.

For (b) understanding, that a great annual Festival was to be kept at *Babylon* on a day approaching, and that it was usual for the *Babylonians* on that Solemnity to spend the whole night in revelling, drunkenness, and all manner of disorders, he thought this a proper time to surprise them, and for the effecting of it he had this Device. He sent up a party of his men to the head of the Canal leading to the Great Lake above described, with orders at a time set to break down the

(a) Vide Q. Curtium lib. 5. c. 1.

(aa) Cyropedia lib. 7.

(b) Herodotus lib. 1. Cyropedia lib. 7.

great Bank or Dam, which was between the River and that Canal, and to turn the whole current that way into the Lake. In the interim getting all his Forces together he posted one part of them at the place where the River ran into the City, and the other where it came out, with orders to enter the City that night by the Channel of the River, as soon as they should find it fordable. And then toward the Evening he opened the head of the Trenches on both sides the River above the City to let the water of it run into them. And by this means, and the opening of the Great Dam, the River was so drained, that by the middle of the night, it being then in a manner empty, both parties according to their orders entered the Channel, the one having *Gobrias*, and the other *Gadates* for their Guides; and finding the Gates leading down to the River, which used on all other nights to be shut, then all left open through the neglect and disorder of that time of looseness, they ascending through them into the City, and both parties being met at the Palace, as had been concerted between them, they there surpris'd the Guards, and slew them all, and when on the noise some that were within opened the Gates to know what it meant, they rushed in upon them and took the Palace. Where finding the King with his sword drawn at the head of those, who were at hand to assist him, they slew him valiantly fighting for his life, and all those that were with him. After this, Proclamation being made of life and safety to all such as should bring in their arms, and of death to all that should refuse so to do, all quietly yielded to the Conquerors, and *Cyrus* without any farther resistance became Master of the place, and this concluded all his conquests after a war of one and twenty years. For so long was it from his coming out of *Persia* with his Army for the assistance of *Cyaxares* to his taking of *Babylon*, during all which time he lay abroad in the Field, carrying on his Conquests from place to place, till at length he had subdued all the *East*, from the *Egean* Sea to the River *Indus*, and thereby erected

the greatest Empire that had ever been in *Asia* to that time, which work was owing as much to his wisdom as his valour, for he equally excelled in both. And he was also a person of that great candour and humanity to all men, that he made greater Conquests by his Courtesy, and his kind treatment of all he had to do with, than by his Sword, whereby he did knit the hearts of all men to him, and in this foundation lay the greatest strength of his Empire, when he first erected it.

This Account *Herodotus* and *Xenophon* both give of the taking of *Babylon* by *Cyrus*, and herein they exactly agree with the Scripture. For *Daniel* (*bb*) tells us, that *Belshazzar* made a great Feast for a thousand of his Lords, and for his Wives, and for his Concubines, and that in that very night he was slain, and *Darius* the *Mede*, that is *Cyaxares* the uncle of *Cyrus*, took the Kingdom. For *Cyrus* allowed him the title of all his Conquests, as long as he lived. In this Feast *Belshazzar* having impiously prophaned the gold and silver vessels, that were taken out of the Temple of *Jerusalem*, in causing them to be brought into the Banqueting-House, and there drinking out of them, he and his Lords, and his Wives and his Concubines, God did in a very extraordinary and wonderful manner express his wrath against him for the wickedness hereof. For he caused an Hand to appear on the Wall, and there write a sentence of immediate destruction against him for it. The King saw the appearance of the hand that wrote it, for it was exactly over-against the place where he sat. And therefore being exceedingly affrighted and troubled at it, he commanded all his Wise-men, Magicians, and Astrologers to be immediately called for, that they might read the writing, and make known unto him the meaning of it. But (*c*) none of them being able to do it, the Queen-

(*bb*) Dan. v.

(*c*) The reason why they could not read it was because it was written in the old Hebrew Letters, now called the Samaritan Character, which the Babylonians knew nothing of.

Mother on her hearing of this wonderful thing came into the Banqueting-House, and acquainted the King of the great skill and ability of *Daniel* in such matters; whereon he being sent for did read to the King the writing, and boldly telling him of his many Iniquities and Transgressions against the great God of Heaven and Earth, and particularly in prophaning at that Banquet the holy Vessels, which had been consecrated to his service in his Temple at *Jerusalem*, made him understand, that this hand-writing was a sentence from Heaven against him for it, the Interpretation of it being, That his Kingdom was taken from him, and given to the *Medes* and *Persians*. And it seemeth to have been immediately upon it that the Palace was taken, and *Belsazzar* slain. For (cc) Candles were lighted before the hand-writing appear'd, some time after this must be required for the calling of the Wise-men, the Magicians, and Astrologers, and some time must be wasted in their trying in vain to read the writing. After that the Queen-Mother came from her apartment into the Banqueting-House to direct the King to send for *Daniel*, and then he was called for, perchance from some distant place. And by this time many Hours of the Night must have been spent, and therefore we may well suppose that by the time *Daniel* had interpreted the writing, the *Persians* were got within the Palace, and immediately executed the contents of it, by slaying *Belsazzar*, and all his Lords, that were with him. The Queen, that entered the Banqueting-House to direct the King to call for *Daniel*, could not be his Wife. For all his Wives, and Concubines, the Text tells us, sat with him at the Feast. And therefore it must have been *Nitocris* the Queen-Mother. And she seemeth to have been there called the Queen by way of eminency, because she had the Regency of the Kingdom under her son, which her great wisdom eminently qualified her for. And *Belsazzar* seemeth to have left this entirely to her ma-

(cc) Dan. v. 5.

nagement. For when *Daniel* was called in before him, he did (d) not know him, though he was one of the chief ministers of state, that (e) did the King's business in his Palace, but asked of him, whether he were *Daniel*. But *Nitocris*, who constantly employed him in the publick affairs of the Kingdom, knew him well, and therefore advised, that he should be sent for on this occasion. This shews *Belsazzar* to have been a Prince, that wholly minded his pleasures, leaving all things else to others to be managed for him, which is a conduct too often followed by such Princes, who think Kingdoms made for nothing else, but to serve their Pleasures, and gratify their Lusts. And therefore, that he held the crown 17 years, and against so potent an enemy as *Cyrus*, was wholly owing to the conduct of his Mother, into whose hands the management of his Affairs fell. For she was a lady of the greatest wisdom of her time, and did the utmost, that could be done, to save the state of *Babylon* from ruin. And therefore her name was long after of that fame in those parts, that *Herodotus* speaks of her, as if she had been Sovereign of the Kingdom, in the same manner as *Semiramis* is said to have been, and attributes to her all those works about *Babylon*, which (f) other Authors ascribe to her Son. For although they were done in his reign, it was she that did them, and therefore she had the best Title to the honour that was due for them; tho', as hath been above hinted, the Great Lake, and the Canal leading to it (which, though reckoned among the works of *Nebuchadnezzar*, must at least have been finished by her according to *Herodotus*) how wisely soever they were contrived for the benefit both of the City and Country, turned to the great damage of both. For *Cyrus* draining the River by this Lake and Canal, by that means took the City. And when by the breaking down of the Banks at the head of the Canal the

(d) Daniel v. 13.

(e) Daniel viii. 27.

(f) Berosus

apud Josephum contra Apionem lib. 1.

River was turned that way, no care being taken afterwards again to reduce it to its former Channel by repairing the breach, (g) all the Country on that side was overflowed and drowned by it. And the Current by long running this way at length making the Breach so wide, as to become irreparable, unless by an expence, as great, as that whereby the Bank was first built, a whole Province was lost by it. And the Current which went to *Babylon* afterwards grew so shallow, as to be scarce fit for the smallest navigation, which was a further damage to that place. *Alexander*, who intended to have made *Babylon* the seat of his Empire, endeavoured to remedy this mischief, and did accordingly set himself to build the Bank anew, which was on the *West* side of it, but when he had carried it on the length of four Miles, he was stopped by some difficulties, that he met with in the work from the nature of the soil, which possibly would have been overcome, had he lived, but his death, which hapned a little after, put an end to this, as well as to all other his designs. And a while after *Babylon* falling into decay on the building of *Seleucia* in the Neighbourhood, this work was never more thought of, but that Country hath remained all bog and marsh ever since. And no doubt this was one main reason, which helped forward the desertion of that place, especially when they found a new City built in the Neighbourhood in a much better situation.

In the taking of *Babylon* ended the *Babylonish* Empire, after it had continued from the beginning of the Reign of *Nabonassar* (who first founded it) 209 years. And here ended the power and pride of this great City, just 50 years after it had destroyed the City and Temple of *Jerusalem*; and hereby were in a great measure accomplished the many Prophecies, which were by the Prophets *Isaiab*, *Jeremiah*, *Habakkuk*, and *Daniel* delivered against it. And here it

(g) Arrianus de Expeditione Alexandri lib. 7.

is to be observed, that in reference to the present besieging, and taking of the place, it was particularly foretold by them, That it (*h*) should be shut up, and besieged by the *Medes, Elamites, and Armenians*; That the River (*i*) should be dried up; That the City should be taken in the time (*k*) of a Feast, while her Princes, and her Wife-men, her Captains, and her Rulers, and her Mighty Men were drunken; and that they should be thereon made to sleep a perpetual sleep, from which they should not awake. And so accordingly all this came to pass, *Belshazzar*, and all his Thousand Princes, who were drunk with him at the Feast, having (*l*) been all slain by *Cyrus's* Soldiers when they took the Palace. And so also was it particularly foretold by the Prophet *Isaiah* (xiv.) that God would make the Country of *Babylon* a possession for the *Bittern and pools of water* (ver. 23.) which was accordingly fulfilled by the overflowing and drowning of it on the breaking down of the great Dam in order to take the City, which I have above given an account of. And so also that God would cut off from that City *the Son and the Grandson* (ver. 22.) that is the Son and Grandson of their great King *Nebuchadnezzar*, and they were accordingly both cut off by violent deaths in the flower of their age, *Evilmerodach* the Son before this time in the manner as hath been above related, and *Belshazzar* the Grandson in the present taking of *Babylon*, and hereby the Scepter of *Babylon* was broken, as was foretold by the same Prophecy (ver. 5.) for it did never after any more bear rule. Where I read *the Son and the Grandson* (ver. 22.) it is I confess in the *English* Translation *the Son and the Nephew*. But in the 21st Chapter of *Genesis*, ver. 23. the same *Hebrew* word *Neked* is translated *son's son*, and so it ought to have been translated here; for this is the proper signification of the word, which

(*h*) *Isaiah* xiii. 17. & xxi. 2. *Jeremiah* li. 11, 27, 28, 29, 30.

(*i*) *Jeremiah* l. 38. & li. 36.

(*k*) *Jeremiah* li. 39, 57.

(*l*) *Cyropedia* lib. 7.

appears from the use of the same word, *Job* xviii. 19. For *Bildad* there speaking of the wicked, and the Curse of God which shall be upon him in the want of a posterity, expresseth it thus, *Lo nin lo velo Naked*, i. e. *he shall have neither Son nor Grandson*. For Nephew in the *English* Signification of the word, whether brother's son or sister's son, cannot be within the meaning of the Text, the context not admitting it.

After the Death of *Belsazzar*, *Darius* the *Mede* (*m*) is said in Scripture to have taken the Kingdom. For *Cyrus*, as long as his Uncle lived, allowed him a joint title with him in the Empire, although it was all gained by his own valour, and out of deference to him yielded him the first place of honour in it. But the whole power of the Army, and the chief conduct of all affairs being still in his hands, he only was looked on as the supreme Governour of the Empire, which he had erected, and therefore there is no notice at all taken of *Darius* in the Canon of *Ptolemy*, but immediately after the death of *Belsazzar* (who is there called *Nabonadius*) *Cyrus* is placed as the next successor, as in truth and reality he was, the other having no more than the name and the shadow of the sovereignty, excepting only in *Media*, which was his own proper Dominion.

Anno 538.
Darius the
Mede 1.

There are (*n*) some, that will have *Darius* the *Median* to have been *Nabonadius*, the last *Babylonish* King in the Canon of *Ptolemy*. And their Scheme is, that after the death of *Evilmerodach*, *Neriglissar* succeeded only as Guardian to *Laborsoarchod* his son, who was next Heir in right of his Mother, she having been daughter to *Nebuchadnezzar*, and that *Laborsoarchod* was the *Belsazzar* of the Scriptures, who was slain in the Night of the impious festival, not by *Cyrus* (say they) but by a Conspiracy of his own people. That the Scriptures attribute to him

(*m*) Dan. v. 31.

(*n*) Scaliger, Calvisius, and others.

the whole four years of *Belsbazzar*, which the Canon of *Ptolemy* doth to *Neriglissar* (or *Nericassolassar*, as he is there called) because *Neriglissar* reigned only as Guardian for him. And that hence it is, that we hear of the first and the third year of *Belsbazzar* (o) in *Daniel*, tho' *Laborosoarchod* reigned alone after his father's death only nine months. That after his death the *Babylonians* made choice of *Nabonadius*, who was no way of kin to the Family of *Nebuchadnezzar*, but a *Median* by descent, and that for this reason only is he called *Darius* the *Median* in Scripture. As to what they say of *Nabonadius*'s not being of kin to the Family of *Nebuchadnezzar*, it must be confessed, that the Fragments of *Megasthenes* (p) may give them some authority for it. But as for all the rest it hath no other foundation, but the imagination of them that say it. And the whole is contrary to Scripture. For 1st, The hand-writing on the wall told *Belsbazzar*, that his Kingdom should be divided, or rent from him, and be given to (q) the *Medes* and *Persians*, and immediately after (r) the sacred Text tells us, that *Belsbazzar* was slain that night, and *Darius* the *Median* took the Kingdom, who could be none other, than *Cyaxares* King of *Media*, who in conjunction with *Cyrus* the *Persian* conquered *Babylon*. 2^{dly}, Therefore *Belsbazzar* must have been the last *Babylonish* King, and consequently the *Nabonadius* of *Ptolemy*. 3^{dly}, This last King was not a stranger to the family of *Nebuchadnezzar*, for the sacred Text makes him (s) his Descendant. 4^{thly}, *Darius* is said to have governed the Kingdom by the Laws (t) of the *Medes* and *Persians*, which cannot be supposed, 'till after the *Medes* and *Persians* had conquered that Kingdom. Had this *Darius* been *Nabonadius* the *Babylonish* King, he would certainly have governed by the *Babylonish* Laws, and not by the Laws of his

(o) *Daniel* vii. 1. viii. 1. (p) *Apud Eusebium Præp. Evang. lib. 9.*
 (q) *Dan. v. 28.* (r) *Dan. v. 30, 31.* (s) *Daniel v. 11, 13, 18, 22.*
 (t) *Daniel vi. 8. 15.*

Enemies, the *Medes* and *Persians*, who were in Hostility against him all his reign, and sought his ruin. 5thly, *Darius* is said to have divided his Empire into (u) 120 Provinces, which could not have been true of the *Babylonish* Empire, that never having been large enough for it. But it must be understood of the *Persian* Empire only, which was vastly larger. And afterwards on the conquest of *Egypt* by *Cambyfes*, and of *Thrace* and *India* by *Darius Hystaspis*, it had seven other Provinces added to its former number. And therefore in the time of *Esther* it consisted of an hundred twenty and seven Provinces. And this having been the Division of the *Persian* Empire at that time, it sufficiently proves the former to have been of the same Empire also. For if the *Persian* Empire from *India* to *Ethiopia* contained but an hundred twenty and seven Provinces, the Empire of *Babylon* alone, which was not the seventh part of the other, could not contain an hundred and twenty. The Testimony which *Scaliger* brings to prove *Nabonadius* to have been a *Mede* by descent, and by Election made King of *Babylon*, is very absurd. In the Prophecy of *Nebuchadnezzar* delivered to the *Babylonians* a little before his death concerning their future subjection to the *Persians*, which is preserved in the fragments of *Megasthenes*, there are these words, (x) *A Persian Mule shall come, who by the help of your own Gods fighting for him shall bring slavery upon you, whose assistant or fellow-causer herein shall be the Mede.* By which *Mede* is plainly meant *Cyaxares* King of *Media*, who was confederate with *Cyrus* in the War, wherein *Babylon* was conquered. But *Scaliger* saith it was *Nabonadius*, and hence proves that he was a *Mede*, and quotes this place in *Megasthenes* for it. If you ask him, why he saith this, his Answer is, that the person, who is in that Prophecy said to be the Assistant of *Cyrus*, and fellow-causer with him in bringing servitude upon *Babylon* must be *Nabonadius*, because he was an as-

(u) Daniel vi. 1.

(x) Apud Eusebium Præp. Evang. l. 9.

sistant

sistant and fellow-causer with him herein, in being beaten, and conquered by him. This argument needs no answer, it is sufficiently refuted by being related. And therefore *Isaac Vossius* well observes, that the Arguments which *Scaliger* brings for this are *indigna Scaligero*, i. e. *unworthy of Scaliger*. *Chronologia Sacra*, p. 144.

After *Cyrus* had settled his affairs at *Babylon*, (z) he went into *Persia* to make a visit to his Father and Mother, they being both yet living; and on his return through *Media*, he there married the daughter of *Cyaxares*, having with her for her Dower the Kingdom of *Media* in Reversion after her father's death; for she was his only Child: And then with his new wife he went back to *Babylon*. And *Cyaxares* being earnestly invited by him thither accompanied him in the Journey. On their arrival at *Babylon* they there took counsel in concert together for the settling of the whole Empire, and (a) having divided it into the one hundred and twenty Provinces, which I have before spoken of, they (b) distributed the Government of them among those that had born with *Cyrus* the chief burden of the war, and best merited from him in it. Over these were appointed (c) three Presidents, who constantly residing at Court were to receive from them from time to time an account of all particulars relating to their respective Government, and again remit to them the King's orders concerning them. And therefore in these three, as the chief Ministers of the King, was entrusted the superintendency and main Government of the whole Empire. And of them *Daniel* was made the first. To which preference, not only his great wisdom (which was of eminent fame all over the East) but also his seniority, and long experience in Affairs, gave him the justest Title. For he had now from the second year of *Nebuchadnezzar* been employed full sixty five years

(z) *Cyropedia* lib. 8.
(c) *Daniel* vi. 2.

(a) *Dan.* vi. 1. (b) *Cyropedia* lib. 1.

as a prime minister of State under the Kings of *Babylon*. However this Station advancing him to be the next person to the King in the whole Empire, it stirred up so great an envy against him among the other Courtiers, that they laid that snare for him, which cast him into the Lion's den. But he being there delivered by a Miracle from all harm, this malicious contrivance ended in the Destruction of its Authors, and *Daniel* being thenceforth immoveably settled in the favour of *Darius* and *Cyrus*, (d) he prospered greatly in their time, as long as he lived.

In the first year of *Darius*, *Daniel* computing, that the seventy years of *Judah's* Captivity, which were prophesied of by the Prophet *Jeremiah*, were now drawing to an end, (e) earnestly prayed unto God, that he would remember his people, and grant restoration to *Jerusalem*, and make his face again to shine upon the Holy City, and his Sanctuary, which he had placed there. Whereon in a Vision he had assurance given him by the Angel *Gabriel*, not only of the deliverance of *Judah* from their Temporal Captivity under the *Babylonians*, but also of a much greater Redemption, which God would give his Church in his deliverance of them from their Spiritual Captivity under Sin and Satan, to be accomplished at the end of seventy weeks after the going forth of the Commandment to rebuild *Jerusalem*, that is at the end of 490 years. For taking each day for an year according as is usual in the Prophetic Stile of Scripture, so many years seventy weeks of years will amount to, which is the clearest Prophecy of the coming of the *Messiah*, that we have in the *Old Testament*. For it determines it to the very time, on which he accordingly came, and by his Death, and Passion, and Resurrection from the Dead, compleated for us the great work of our Salvation.

Cyrus immediately on his return to *Babylon* had issued out his Orders (f) for all his forces to come

(d) Daniel vi. 28.

(e) Daniel ix.

(f) Cyropedia lib. 8.

thither

thither to him, which at a General Muster he found to be an hundred and twenty thousand Horse, two thousand Sithed Chariots, and six hundred thousand foot. Of these having distributed into Garrisons as many, as were necessary for the defence of the several parts of the Empire, he marched with the rest in an Expedition into *Syria*, where he settled all those parts of the Empire, reducing all under him as far as the *Red-Sea*, and the confines of *Ethiopia*. In the interim (g) *Cyaxares* (whom the Scriptures call *Darius* the *Median*) staid at *Babylon* and there governed the Affairs of the Empire, and during that time happened what hath been above related concerning *Daniel's* being cast into the Lion's Den, and his miraculous deliverance from it.

And about the same time seem to have been coined those famous pieces of Gold called *Darics* (h) which by reason of their fineness were for several ages preferred before all other coin throughout all the East. For we are told that the Author of this Coin was (i) not *Darius Hystaspis*, as some have imagined, but an ancients *Darius*. But there is no ancients *Darius* mentioned to have reigned in the East, excepting only this *Darius*, whom the Scripture calls *Darius the Median*. And therefore it is most likely, that he was the Author of this Coin, and that during the two years, that he reigned at *Babylon*, while *Cyrus* was absent from thence on his *Syrian*, *Egyptian*, and other Expeditions, he caused it to be made there, out of the vast quantity of Gold which had been brought thither into the Treasury, as the spoils of the war which he and *Cyrus* had been so long engaged in, from whence it became dispersed all over the East, and also into *Greece*, where it was of great reputation. According (k) to *Dr. Bernard*, it weighed two grains more than one of our *Guinea's*, but the fine-

(g) Daniel v. 31.

(h) Herodotus lib. 4. Plutarchus in Artaxerxe.

(i) Harpocration. Scholiastes Aristophanis ad Ecclef. p. 741, 742. Suidas sub voce Δαρεῖος.

(k) De ponderibus & mensuris antiquis, p. 171.

ness added much more to its value. For it was in a manner all of pure gold, having none, or at least very little alloy in it, and therefore may be well reckon'd, as the Proportion of Gold and Silver now stands with us in respect to each other, to be worth 25 shillings of our money. In those (l) Parts of Scripture, which were written after the *Babylonish* Captivity, these Pieces are mentioned by the name of *Adarkonim*, and in the *Talmudists* by the name of (m) *Darkonoth*, both from the Greek *Δαρειοι*, i. e. *Darics*. And it is to be observed, that all those pieces of Gold, which were afterwards coined of the same weight and value by the succeeding Kings, not only of the *Persian*, but also of the *Macedonian* Race, were all called *Darics*, from the *Darius* that was the first Author of them. And these were either whole *Darics* or half *Darics*, as with us there are *Guineas* and half *Guineas*.

But about two years after *Cyaxares* dying, and *Cambyfes* being also dead in *Persia*, (n) *Cyrus* returned and took on him the whole Government of the Empire, over which he reigned seven years. His reign is reckoned, from his first coming out of *Persia* with an army for the assistance of *Cyaxares* to his death to have been thirty years, from the taking of *Babylon* nine years, and from his being sole Monarch of the whole Empire after the Death of *Cyaxares* and *Cambyfes* seven years. *Tully* (o) reckons by the first account, (p) *Ptolemy* by the second, and (q) *Xenophon* by the third. And the first of these seven years is that first year of *Cyrus* mentioned in the first verse of the Book of *Ezra*, wherein an end was put to the Captivity of *Judah*, and a Licence given them by a publick Decree of the King's again to return into their own Country. The seventy years, which *Jeremiah* had prophesied, should be the continuance of this Capti-

(l) 1 Chron. xxix. 7. & Ezra viii. 27. (m) Vide Buxtorfii Lexicon Rabbinicum, p. 577. (n) Cyropedia lib. 8. (o) De Divinatione lib. 1. (p) In Canone. (q) Cyropedia lib. 8. Where *Xenophon* saith, that *Cyrus* reigned after the Death of *Cyaxares* seven years.

vity, were now just expired. For it began a year and two months before the death of *Nabopollasar*, after that *Nebuchadnezzar* reigned 43 years, *Evilmerodach* two years, *Neriglissar* four years, *Belsazzar* seventeen years, and *Darius the Median* two years, which being all put together make just 69 years and two months, and if you add hereto ten months more to compleat the said 70 years, it will carry down the end of them exactly into the same Month in the first year of *Cyrus*, in which it began in the last save one of *Nabopollasar*, i. e. in the 9th month of the *Jewish* year, which is the *November* of ours. For in that month *Nebuchadnezzar* first took *Jerusalem* and carried great numbers of the people into Captivity, as hath been before related. And that their release from it hapned also in the same month may be thus inferr'd from Scripture. The first time the *Jews* are found at *Jerusalem* after their return was in their *Nisan*, i. e. in our *April*, as will hereafter be shewn. If you allow them four months for their march thither from *Babylon*, (which was the time (r) in which *Ezra* performed the like march) the beginning of that March will fall in the middle of the *December* preceding. And if you allow a month's time after the Decree of Release for their preparing for that journey, it will fix the end of the said Captivity, which they were then released from, exactly in the middle of the month of *November* in the first year of *Cyrus*, which was the very time on which it began just seventy years before. And that this first of *Cyrus* is not to be reckoned with *Ptolemy* from the taking of *Babylon*, and the death of *Belsazzar*; but with *Xenophon* from the death of *Darius the Mede*, and the succession of *Cyrus* into the Government of the whole Empire, appears from hence, that this last is plainly the Scripture reckoning. For therein after the taking of *Babylon*, and the death of *Belsazzar*, *Darius the Mede* (s) is named in the succession before *Cyrus*

(r) *Ezra* vii. 9.(s) *Daniel* vi. 28.

the *Persian*, and the years (t) of the Reign of *Cyrus* are not there reckoned, 'till the years of the Reign of *Darius* had ceased, and therefore according to Scripture the first of *Cyrus* cannot be 'till after the death of *Darius*.

There can be no doubt, but that this Decree in favour of the *Jews* was obtained by *Daniel*. When *Cyrus* first came into *Babylon* on his taking the City he found him there an old Minister of State famed for his great Wisdom all over the East, and long experienced in the management of the publick affairs of the Government, and such Counsellors wise Kings always seek for; and moreover his late reading of the wonderful hand-writing on the Wall, which had puzzled all the Wise-men of *Babylon* besides, and the event which hapned immediately after exactly agreeable to his interpretation, had made a very great and fresh addition to his reputation. And therefore on *Cyrus's* having made himself Master of the City, he was soon called for, as a person that was best able to advise and direct about the settling of the Government on this Revolution, and was consulted with in all the measures taken herein. On which occasion he so well approved himself, that afterwards on the settling of the Government of the whole Empire, he was made first Superintendant, or prime Minister of State, over all the Provinces of it, as hath been already shewn. And when *Cyrus* returned from his *Syrian* Expedition again to *Babylon*, he found a new addition to his fame from his miraculous deliverance from the Lion's Den. All which put together gave sufficient reason for that wise and excellent Prince to have him in the highest esteem, and therefore it is said that (u) he prospered under him, as he did under *Darius* the *Median*, with whom, it appears, he was in the highest favour and esteem. And since he had been so earnest with God

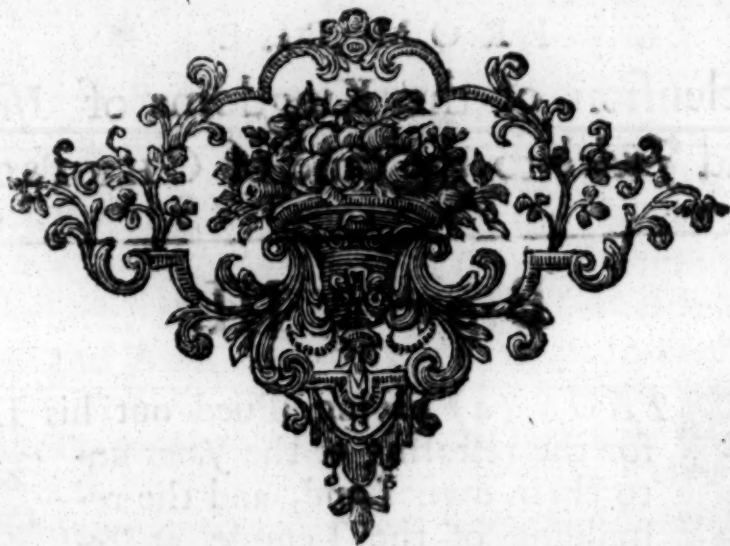
(t) Compare Daniel ix. 1. with the 10th Chap. ver. 1.
i. 21. & vi. 28.

(u) Daniel

in prayer for the restoration of his people, as we find in the ninth Chapter of *Daniel*, it is not to be thought that he was backward in his intercessions for it with the King, especially when he was in so great favour, and of so great authority with him. And to induce him the readier to grant his request, he shewed him the Prophecies of the Prophet *Isaiab* (w), which spake of him by name 150 years before he was born, as one whom God had designed to be a great Conqueror, and King over many Nations, and the Restorer of his people, in causing the Temple to be built, and the Land of *Judah* and the City of *Jerusalem* to be again dwelt in by its former Inhabitants. That *Cyrus* had seen and read these Prophecies, (x) *Josephus* tells us, and it is plain from Scripture that he did so. For they are recited (y) in his Decree in *Ezra*, for the rebuilding of the Temple. And who was there, that should shew them unto him, but *Daniel*, who in the station that he was in had constant access unto him, and of all men living had it most at heart to see these Prophecies fulfilled in the Restoration of *Sion*? Besides *Cyrus* in his late Expedition into *Syria* and *Palestine*, having seen so large and good a Country, as that of *Judea*, lye wholly desolate, might justly be moved with a desire of having it again inhabited. For the strength and riches of every Empire being chiefly in the number of its Subjects, no wise Prince would ever desire that any part of his Dominions should lye unpeopled. And who could be more proper again to plant the desolated Country of *Judea*, than its former Inhabitants? They were first carried out of *Judea* by *Nebuchadnezzar* to people and strengthen *Babylon*, and perchance under this Government of the *Persians*, to which the *Babylonians* were never well affected, the weakning and dispeopling of *Babylon* might be as strong a reason for their being sent back again into

(w) *Isaiab* xlv. 28. & xlv. 1.(x) *Lib.* 11. c. 1.(y) *Ezra* i. 2.

their own Country. But whatsoever second Causes worked to it, God's over-ruling power, which turneth the hearts of Princes which way he pleaseth, brought it to pass, that in the first year of *Cyrus's* Monarchy over the East, he issued out his Royal Decree for the rebuilding of the Temple at *Jerusalem*, and the return of the *Jews* again into their own Country. And hereon the state of *Judah* and *Jerusalem* began to be restored, of which an account will be given in the next Book.





THE
OLD *and* NEW TESTAMENT
Connected in the
HISTORY
OF THE
Jews and Neighbouring Nations,
FROM THE
Declension of the Kingdoms of *Israel*
and *Judah* to the time of CHRIST.

BOOK III.



YRUS (a) having issued out his Decree for the restoring of the *Jews* unto their own Land, and the rebuilding of the Temple at *Jerusalem*, they gathered together out of the several parts of the Kingdom of *Babylon* to the number of forty two thousand three hundred and sixty Persons with their Servants, which amounted to seven thousand three hundred thirty and seven more.

Anno 536.
Cyrus 1.

(a) *Ezra* i, & ii.

Their chief Leaders were (b) *Zerubbabel* the Son of *Salathiel* the Son of *Jehoiachin* or *Jeconias* King of *Judah*, and *Jeshua* the Son of *Jozadack* the High-Priest. *Zerubbabel* (whose *Babylonish* name was (c) *Sheshbazzar*) was made (d) Governour of the Land under the Title of *Tirshatha* by Commission from *Cyrus*. But *Jeshua* was High-Priest by Lineal descent from the Pontifical Family. For (e) he was the son of *Jozadack*, who was the Son of *Seraiah*, that was High-Priest when *Jerusalem* was destroyed, and the Temple burnt by the *Chaldeans*, *Seraiah* being then taken prisoner by *Nebuzaradan*, and carried to *Nebuchadnezzar* to *Riblah* in *Syria* was (f) then put to death by him. But *Jozadack* his Son being spared as to his life (ff) was only with the rest led Captive to *Babylon*, where he died before the Decree of Restoration came forth, and therefore the Office of High-Priest was then in *Jeshua* his son, and under (g) that title he is named next *Zerubbabel* among the first of those that returned. The rest were (h) *Nehemiah*, *Seraiah*, *Reelaiah*, *Mordecai*, *Bilsham*, *Mispar*, *Bigvai*, *Rehum*, and *Baanah*, who were the prime Leaders of the people, and the chief assistants to *Zerubbabel* in the resettling of them again in their own Land, and are by the *Jewish* writers reckoned the chief men of the great Synagogue. So they call the Convention of Elders, which, they say, sat at *Jerusalem* after the return of the *Jews*, and did there again re-establish all their affairs both as to Church and State, of which they speak great things, as shall hereafter be shewn. But it is to be observed, that the *Nehemiah* and *Mordecai* above-mentioned, were not the *Nehemiah* and *Mordecai* of whom there is so much said in the Books of *Nehemiah*, and *Esther*, but quite different persons, who bore the same name.

(b) Ezra ii. 2. (c) Ezra i. 8, 11. (d) Ezra v. 14.
 (e) 1 Chron. vi. 14, 15. (f) 2 Kings xxv. 18. (ff) 1 Chron. vi.
 15. (g) Ezra ii. 2. iii. 2. Haggai i. 12. & ii. 2. (h) Ezra ii. 2,
Nehemiah vii. 7.

At the same time that *Cyrus* issued out his Decree for the rebuilding of the Temple of *Jerusalem*, he (i) ordered all the vessels to be restored, which had been taken from thence. *Nebuchadnezzar* on the burning of the former Temple had brought them to *Babylon*, and placed them there in the Temple of *Bel* his God. From thence they were according to *Cyrus's* Order by *Mithredath* the King's Treasurer delivered to *Zerubbabel*, who carry'd them back again to *Jerusalem*. All the Vessels of Gold and Silver, that were at this time restored were five thousand four hundred, the remainder was brought back by *Ezra* in the reign of *Artaxerxes Longimanus* many years after.

And not only those of *Judah* and *Benjamin*, but several also of the other Tribes took the Benefit of this Decree to return again into their own Land. For (k) some of them, who were carried away by *Tiglath-Pileser*, *Salmaneser*, and *Eserhaddon*, still retained the true Worship of God in a strange Land, and did not go into the idolatrous usages and impieties of the Heathens, among whom they were dispersed, but joined themselves to the *Jews*, when by a like Captivity they were brought into the same parts. And some after all the *Assyrian* Captivities were still left in the Land. For we find some of them still there in the time (l) of *Josiah*, and they suffered the *Babylonish* Captivity, as well as the *Jews*, 'till at length they were wholly carried away in the last of them by *Nebuzaradan* in the (m) 23d year of *Nebuchadnezzar*. And many of them had long before (n) left their Tribes for their Religion, and incorporating themselves with their Brethren of *Judah* and *Benjamin* dwelt in their Cities, and there fell into the same calamity with them in their Captivity under the *Babylonians*. And of all these a great number took the

(i) *Ezra* i. 7—11.
xxxiv. 9. & xxxv. 18.
xv. 9. & xxi. 6.

(k) *Tobit* i. 11, 12. xiv. 9.

(l) 2 *Chron.*

(m) *Jeremiah* lii. 30.

(n) 2 *Chron.* xi. 16.

advantage of this Decree again to return and dwell in their own Cities. For both *Cyrus's* Decree as well as that of *Artaxerxes*, extended to all the House of *Israel*. The Decree of *Artaxerxes* (o) is by name to all the people of *Israel*, and that of *Cyrus's* (oo) is to all the people of the God of *Israel*, that is (as appears by the Text) to all those that worshipped God at *Jerusalem*, which must be understood of the people of *Israel* as well as of *Judah*. For that Temple was built for both, and both had an equal right to worship God there. And therefore *Ezra*, when he returned in the reign of *Artaxerxes Longimanus*, (p) sent a Copy of the King's Decree, whereby that favour was granted him, through all *Media*, where the ten Tribes were in Captivity, as well as through all *Chaldea*, and *Assyria*, where the *Jews* were in Captivity, which plainly implies, that both of them were included in that Decree, and that being a renewal of the Decree of *Cyrus*, both must be understood of the same Extent. And we are told in Scripture, that after the Captivity (q) some of the Children of *Ephraim* and *Manasseh* dwelt in *Jerusalem*, as well as those of *Judah* and *Benjamin*. And it appears from several Places (r) in the *New Testament*, that some of all the Tribes were still in being among the *Jews*, even to the time of their last dispersion on the destruction of *Jerusalem* by the *Romans*, tho' then all were comprehended under the name of *Jews*, which after the *Babylonish* Captivity became the general name of the whole Nation, as that of *Israelites* was before. And this being premised, it solves the difficulty which ariseth from the difference that is between the general number, and the particulars of those, that returned upon *Cyrus's* Decree. For the general number both in *Ezra* and *Nehemiah* is said to be forty two thousand three hundred and sixty; but the particu-

(o) *Ezra* vii. 13.
11. c. 5.
Acts xxvi. 7.

(oo) *Ezra* i. 3.

(q) 1 *Chron.* ix. 3.

(p) *Josephus* Antiq. lib,
(r) *Luke* ii. 36. *James* i. 1.

lars as reckoned up in their several families in *Ezra* amount only to twenty nine thousand eight hundred and eighteen; and in *Nehemiah* to thirty one thousand thirty and one. The meaning of which is, they are only the Tribes of *Judah*, *Benjamin*, and *Levi*, that are reckoned by their Families in both these places, (s) the rest being of the other Tribes of *Israel* are numbered only in the gross sum, and this is that which makes the gross sum so much exceed the particulars in both the Computations. But how it comes to pass, that the particulars in *Ezra* differ from the particulars in *Nehemiah*, since there are several ways how this may be accounted for, and we can only conjecture which of them may be right, I shall not take upon me to determine.

Of the twenty four Courses of the Priests, that were carried away to *Babylon*, only (t) four returned, and they were the Courses of *Jedaiah*, *Immer*, *Pashur*, and *Harim*, which made up the number of four thousand two hundred eighty and nine persons. The rest either tarried behind, or were extinct. However the old number of the Courses, as established by King *David*, were still kept up. For of the four Courses, that returned, (u) each subdivided themselves into six, and the new Courses taking the names of those that were wanting, still kept up the old Titles, and hence it is, that after this *Matthias* is said to have been of the Course (w) of *Joarib*, and *Zacharias* of the Course of (x) *Abias*, tho' neither of these Courses were of the number of those that returned. For the new Courses took the names of the old ones, though they were not descended from them, and so they were continued by the same names under the second Temple, as they had been under the first, only the fifth Course, tho' of the number of those that returned, changed its name, and for that of *Malchijah*, under which it was first established, took the name of *Pa-*

(s) Seder Olam Rabba, c. 29. (t) Ezra ii. 36—39. (u) Talmud Hierosol. in Taanith. (w) 1 Mac. ii. 1. (x) Luke i. 5.

shur, that is the name of the son instead of that of the father. For (y) *Pashur* was the son of *Malchijah*. It is a common saying among the *Jews*, that they were (z) only the bran, that is the dregs of the people, that returned to *Jerusalem* after the end of the Captivity, and that all the fine flower staid behind at *Babylon*. It is most certain, that notwithstanding the several Decrees, that had been granted by the Kings of *Persia* for the return of the *Jews* into their own Land, there were a great many that waved taking the advantage of them, and continued still in *Chaldea*, *Assyria*, and other Eastern Provinces, where they had been carried, and it is most likely, that they were of the best, and richest of the Nation, that did so. For when they had gotten Houses and Lands in those parts, it cannot be supposed, that such would be very forward to leave good settlements to new-plant a Country, that had lain many years desolate. But of what sort soever they were, it's certain a great many staid behind, and never again returned into their own Country. And if we may guess at their number by the family of *Aaron*, they must have been many more, than those who settled again in *Judaea*. For of the twenty four Courses of the Sons of *Aaron* which were carried away, we find only four among those that returned, as hath been already taken notice of. And hereby it came to pass, that during all the time of the second Temple, and for a great many ages after, the number of the *Jews* in *Chaldea*, *Assyria*, and *Persia*, grew to be so very great, that they were all along thought to exceed the number of the *Jews* of *Palestine*, even in those times, when that Country was best inhabited by them.

Those who made this first return into *Judaea*, arrived there in *Nisan*, the first month of the *Jewish* year (which answers to part of *March* and part of *April* in our Calender) for the (a) se-

Anno 535.
Cyrus 2.

(y) 1 Chron. ix. 12. Nehem. xi. 12.
(a) Ezra iii. 8.

(z) Talmud Bab. in Kid-

cond month of the next year is said to be in the second year after their return, and therefore they must then have been a whole year in the Land. As soon as they came thither, (b) they dispersed themselves according to their Tribes, and the Families of their Fathers, in their several Cities, and there betook themselves to rebuild their Houses, and again manure their Lands, after they had now from the destruction of *Jerusalem*, and the flight of the remainder of the people into *Egypt* on the death of *Gedaliah*, lain desolate and uncultivated fifty two years, according to the number of the Sabbatical years which they had neglected to observe. For according to the *Mosaical* Law they ought to have (c) left their Lands fallow every seventh year. But among other commandments of God this also they had neglected, and therefore (d) God made the Land lie desolate without Inhabitants or cultivation, till it had enjoyed the full number of its Sabbaths that it had been deprived of. And this tells us how long the *Jews* had neglected this Law of the Sabbatical year. For it's certain the Land was desolated only fifty two years, that is from the death of *Gedaliah* till the end of the seventy years captivity in the first year of the Empire of *Cyrus*. And fifty two Sabbatical years make fifty two weeks of years, which amount to three hundred sixty four years, which carries up the computation to the beginning of the Reign of *Asa*, and therefore from that time the *Jews* having neglected to observe the Sabbatical years, till they had deprived the Land of fifty two of them, God made that Land lie desolate without cultivation or inhabitants just so many years, till he had restored to it that full rest, which the wickedness of its Inhabitants had contrary to the Law of their God denied unto it. If we reckon the whole seventy years of the Captivity into those years of desolation, which were to make

(b) Ezra ii. 1. & ii. 70. & iii. 1. Nehemiah vii. 6. (c) Levit. xxv. 2—4. (d) Levit. xxvi. 34, 35, 43. 2 Chron. xxxvi. 21.

amends for the Sabbatical years, that the Land had been deprived of, then we must reckon the Observation of them to have been laid aside for 70 weeks of years, that is 490 years. But this will carry back the omission higher up than the days of *David*, and *Samuel*, in whose time it is not likely, that such a Breach of the Law of God would have been permitted in the Land.

On the seventh month, which is called the month *Tisri*, all the people which had returned to their several Cities gathered (e) together at *Jerusalem*, and there on the first (f) day of that month celebrated the Feast of Trumpets. This month began about the Time of the Autumnal Equinox, and was formerly (g) the first month of the year, till it was (h) changed at the time of the coming up of the Children of *Israel* out of *Egypt*. For that hapning in the month of *Abib*, afterwards called *Nisan*, that month for this reason had the honour given it as thenceforth to be reckoned among the *Israelites* for the first month of the year, that is in all Ecclesiastical Matters. Before this time (i) *Tisri* was reckoned every where to begin the year, because from thence did commence (it was thought) (k) the beginning of all things, it being the general opinion among the Ancients, that the world was created and first began at the time of the Autumnal Equinox. And for this reason the *Jews* do still in their *Æra* of the Creation of the World, as well as in their *Æra* of Contracts, compute the beginning of the year from the first of *Tisri*, and all their Bills, and Bonds, and all other civil Acts and Contracts are still dated among them according to the same Computation. And from this Month also they (l) begun all their Jubilees, and Sabbatical years. And therefore altho' their Ecclesi-

(e) Ezra iii. 1.

(f) Ezra iii. 6. Levit. xxiii. 24. Num. xxix. 1.

(g) Exod. xxiii. 16. & xxxiv. 22.

(h) Exod. xii. 2.

(i) Chaldee

Paraphrast on Exodus xii. 2.

(k) Vide Scaligerum de Emendatione

Temporum lib. 5. c. De Conditu Mundi, p. 366, &c.

(l) Leviti-

cus xxv. 9.

astical year began from *Nisan*, and all their Festivals were reckoned according to it, yet their civil year was still reckoned from *Tisri*, and the first day of that month was their new-year's day; and for the more solemn celebration of it this Feast of Trumpets seems to have been appointed.

On the (*m*) tenth day of the same month was the great day of Expiation, when the High-Priest made atonement for all the people of *Israel*; and on the (*n*) fifteenth day began the Feast of Tabernacles, and lasted till the twenty second inclusively. During all which solemnities the people staid at *Jerusalem*, and imployed all that time to the best of their power to set forward the restoration of God's worship again in that place, towards which all, that had riches, contributed according to their abilities. And the (*o*) Free-will Offerings which were made on this occasion, besides an hundred vestments for the Priests, amounted to sixty one thousand drams of Gold, and five thousand minas of Silver, which in all comes to about seventy five thousand five hundred pound of our money. For every dram of Gold is worth ten shillings of our money, and every mina of Silver nine pound, for (*oo*) it contained 60 shekels, and every (*p*) shekel of silver is worth of our money three shillings. And upon this Fund they began the work. And a great sum it was to be raised by so small a number of people, and on their first return from their Captivity, especially if they were only of the poorer sort, as the *Rabbins* say. It must be supposed that these offerings were made by the whole nation of the *Jews*, that is by those who staid behind, as well as by those who returned, otherwise it is scarce possible to solve the matter. For all having an equal interest in that Temple, and the daily sacrifices there offered up having been in the behalf of all, it is ve-

(*m*) Levit. xvi. 29, 30. & xxiii. 27. Num. xxix. 7. (n) Levit. xxiii. 34. Num. xxix. 12, &c. (o) Ezra ii. 69. (oo) Ezekiel xlv. 12. (p) Vide Bernardum de Mensuris & Ponderibus antiquis, p. 129.

ry reasonable to suppose, that all did contribute to the building of it, and that especially seeing that as long as that Temple stood, (*pp*) every Jew annually paid an half shekel, *i. e.* about eighteen pence of our money, towards its repair, and the support of the daily service in it, into what parts soever they were dispersed through the whole world.

The first thing they did, was (*q*) to restore the Altar of the Lord for burnt Offerings. This stood (*r*) in the middle of the inner Court of the Temple exactly before the Porch leading into the Holy Place, and hereon were made the daily offerings of the morning and evening service, and all other offerings ordinary and extraordinary, which were offered up to God by Fire. It had been beaten down and destroyed by the *Babylonians* at the burning of the Temple, and in the same place was it now again restored. That it (*s*) was built, and stood in another place with a Tabernacle round it, till the rebuilding of the Temple was fully finished and compleated, is a fancy without a Foundation. It was certainly built in its proper place (*s*) that is in the same place where it before stood, and there they daily offered Sacrifices upon it even before any thing else of the Temple was built about it. It was (*t*) a large Pile built all of unhewn stones, 32 Cubits (*i. e.* 48 foot) square at the bottom. From thence it rising one Cubit benched-in one Cubit: And from thence, being 30 Cubits square, it did rise five Cubits, and benched-in one Cubit. And from thence being twenty eight Cubits square, it did rise three Cubits, and benched-in two Cubits. From whence it did rise one Cubit, which was the Hearth, upon which the Offerings were

(*pp*) Exodus xxx. 13—15. Maimonides in Shekalim, cap. 1, 2, 4.

(*q*) Ezra iii. 3. (*r*) See Lightfoot of *the Temple*, ch. 34. (*s*) Bishop Patrick in his *Comment on the first of Chronicles*, ch. ix.

(*s*) Ezra iii. 2. For there it is said, that they did set the Altar upon its Bases, or Foundations, *i. e.* upon the same Bases or Foundations, on which it before had stood.

(*t*) Misnaioth in Middoth. Maimonides in Beth-Habbechirah, Cap. 1, 2.

burned,

burned, and the Benching-in of two Cubits breadth was the passage round it, on which the Priests stood, when they tended the fire, and placed the Sacrifices on it. So this Hearth was a square of twenty four Cubits, or thirty six Foot on every side, and one Cubit high, which was all made of solid Brass, and from hence it was called the (u) Brazen Altar. For it is not to be imagined, that it was all made of solid Brass. For to make up so big a pile all of that Metal would cost a vast sum of money. And besides if it were so made, it would not only be against the Law, but also impracticable for the use intended. It would be against the Law, because thereby they are commanded, that wheresoever they should make an Altar, other than the portable Altar of the Tabernacle, they should make it (w) of Earth, or else of unhewn stone. And it would be impracticable for the use intended, because if it were all of Brass, the fire continually burning upon the top of it, would so heat the whole, and especially that part of it next the Hearth, that it would be impossible for the Priests to stand on it, when they were to come thither to officiate in tending the Altar, and offering the Sacrifices thereon; and that especially since they were always to officiate barefooted, without any thing at all upon their Feet to fence them from the heat of it. It is not indeed any where commanded, that the Priests should officiate barefooted, but among the Garments assigned for the Priests (*Exod. xxviii.*) shoes not being named, they were supposed therefore to be forbid, and the Text saying (verse the 4th) *These are the Garments, which they shall make*, this (they say) excludes all, that are not there named. And *Moses* being commanded at the burning Bush (x) to put off his shoes, for that the ground, on which he stood, was holy, because of the extraordinary presence of God then in that place, this they make a further

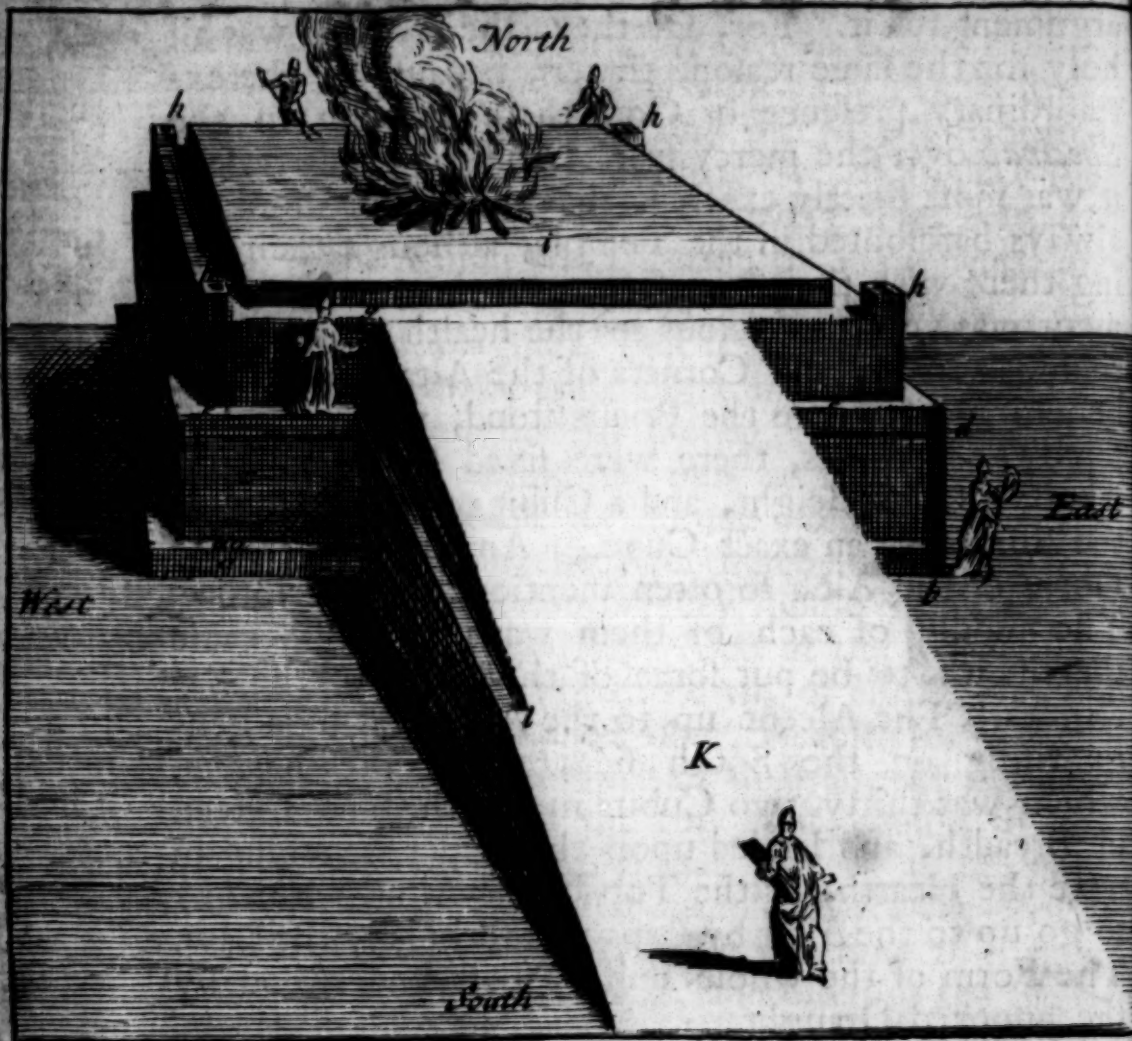
(u) 1 Kings viii. 64.
Acts vii. 33.

(w) Exod. xx. 24, 25.

(x) Exod. iii. 5.

argument for it. For, say they, the Temple was all holy for the same reason, that is, because of the extraordinary presence of God there residing in the *Shecinah* over the mercy seat. And for these reasons it was most strictly exacted, that the Priests should be always barefooted in the Temple, although their going there with their bare feet upon the marble pavement was very pernicious to the health of many of them. On the four Corners of the Altar, on the last benching-in, where the Priests stood, when they offered the sacrifices, there were fixed four small pillars of a Cubit height, and a Cubit on every side, in the form of an exact Cube. And these were the Horns of the Altar so often mentioned in Scripture. The middle of each of them was hollow, because therein was to be put some of the blood of the Sacrifices. The Ascent up to the Altar was by a gentle rising on the South side, called the *Kibbesb*, which was thirty two Cubits in length, and sixteen in Breadth, and landed upon the upper benching-in next the Hearth, or the Top of the Altar. For (y) to go up to the Altar by steps was forbid by the Law. The Form of the whole will be best understood by the annexed Draught.

(y) Exodus xx. 26.



(a) The Foundation of the Altar 32 Cubits square and one Cubit high.

(aa) The first inbenching one Cubit broad.

(b) A square space of one Cubit square cut out of the foundation at the South-East Corner of the Altar, at the bottom of which were two Holes through which the blood of the Altar did run down into a sink underneath the pavement.

(c) The rising of the Altar from the first inbenching 30 Cubits square and 5 Cubits high.

(d) A red line which went round the Altar to distinguish the Holy part, *i. e.* that above it, from the profane, *i. e.* that which was below it, was exactly in the middle of the Altar five Cubits above the floor or pavement of the Court, and five Cubits below the top of the Hearth.

(e) The second inbenching, being a Cubit broad.

(f) The rising of the Altar from the second inbenching, being 28 Cubits square and three Cubits high.

(g) The last inbenching, being two Cubits broad, which was the passage round the Altar where the Priests stood when they offered the Sacrifices and tended the Altar.

(h) The four Horns of the Altar placed at the four Corners of the last inbenching, each of which was a Cube of one Cubit every way and hollow in the middle, where some of the blood of the Sacrifices was always put.

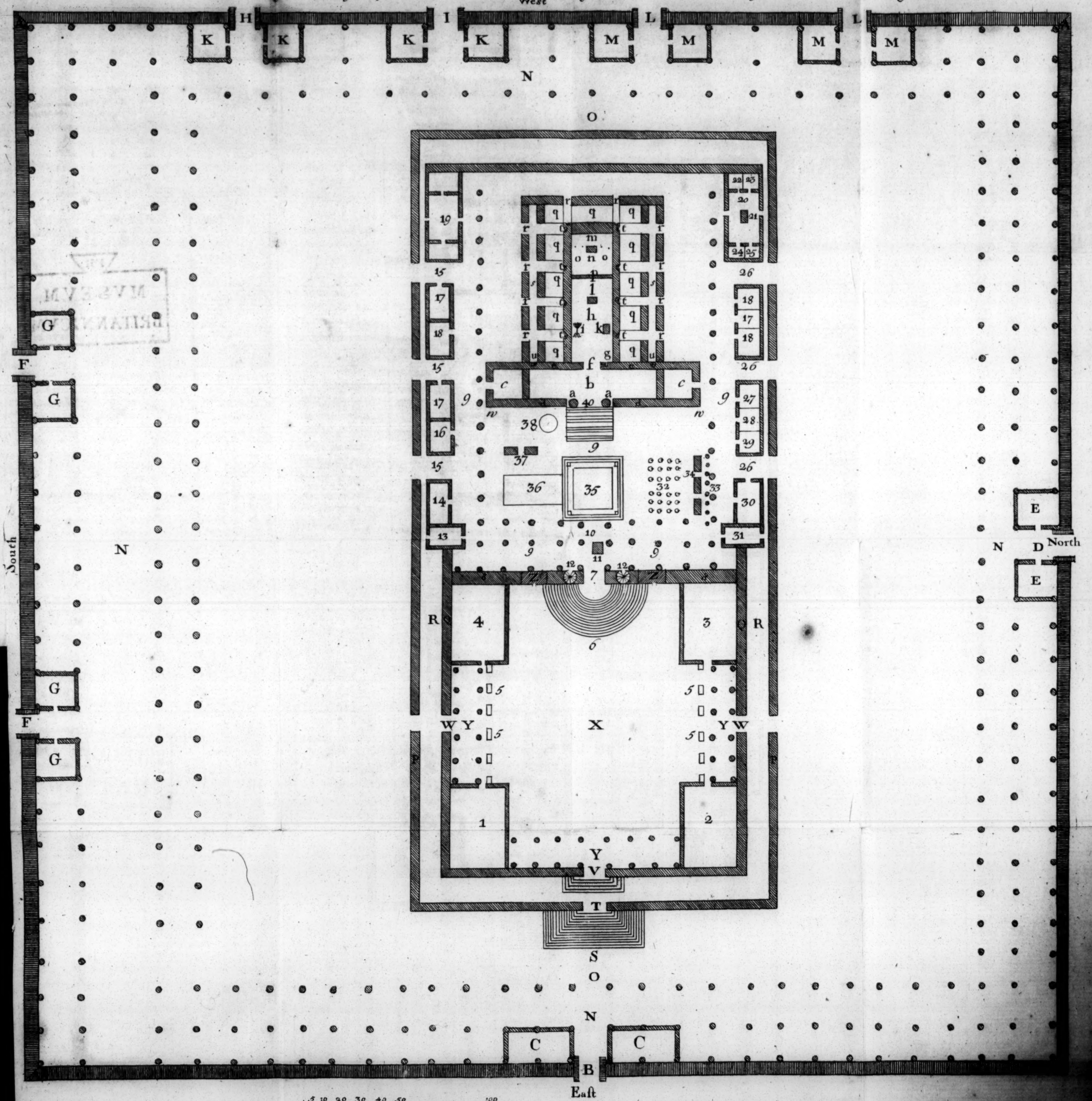
(i) The brazen hearth on which all the Sacrifices were burnt, it was 24 Cubits square and one Cubit high from the last inbenching.

(k) The Kibbesh or sloping ascent to the top of the Altar, being 16 Cubits broad and 32 long.

(l) A passage from the Kibbesh to the second inbenching, one Cubit broad.

But

The Ichtnography of the Temple of Jerusalem with a Description of the same





AA
Cubit
bits h
Walls
only
Gate
and o
on ei
and C
Corne
merly
Temp
Temp
Furlo
Wall,
Cloy
down
which
(FF)
(G)
Gate
on th
ther
the fa
Side
the P
tranc
in th
of th
that
Large
broad
Cybin
Cour
upon
of 40
that
Porch
Cour
Inclo
bits h
the d
(R)

*An Explanation of the Ichnography of the Temple
of Jerusalem.*

[To be placed in Vol. I. p. 200.]

AAAA The outer Wall of the Temple, which was a Square of 500 Cubits on Every Side, *i. e.* 2000 in the whole Circuit. It was 25 Cubits high measuring on the Inside, which was the Size of all other the Walls of the Temple, as well in the inner Part as the outer, excepting only that of the *Chel*; every Cubit was a Foot and an half. (B) The East Gate or Gate of *Shusham*. (CC) the Shops where Wine, Oyl, Salt, Meal, and other things used in the Sacrifices, were sold; with Chambers over on either Side. (D) The North Gate called *Tedi*. (EE) the Porters Lodges, and Chambers over on either Side. Between this Gate and the Western Corner upon a jetting out of the Mountain stood the Castle *Antonia*, formerly called *Baris*, where the *Romans* kept a Garrison to overaw the Temple; from hence the Captain of it was called the Captain of the Temple, *Luke xxii. v. 52. Acts iv. v. 1.* It was a Square Pile two Furlongs in Compass, standing at a little Distance from the Temple Wall, and from which there was a Passage by Stairs down into the Cloysters at the North-west Corner, through which the Soldiers ran down to appease the Tumult risen about *Paul*, *Acts xxi. v. 32.* and from which *Paul* spoke to the People, *v. 40.*

(FF) The 2 Gates in the South Side called the Gates of *Huldah*.

(G) The Porters Lodges, and Chambers over on either Side. (H) The Gate *Shallecheth* or *Coponius* on the West Side. (I) The Gate *Parbor* on the same Side. (K) The Porters Lodges, and Chambers over on either Side of the said two Gates. (L) The two Gates of *Asuppim* on the same West Side. (M) The Rooms and Chambers over on either Side of the said two Gates, where a Treasury of the Temple was kept; the Pile of each Gate was 15 Cubits broad and 30 high, and the Entrance 10 Cubits broad and 20 Cubits high. And all the Gates, as well in the inner Parts of the Temple as the outer, were every one of them of the same Size. (N) The Portico or Cloysters round the Temple, that on the South Side was called the Royal Cloysters, because of its Largeness, for it contained 3 Isles, the middle 42 Cubits and an half broad, and 50 Cubits high; the other two, each 15 Cubits broad, and 25 Cubits high, which was the Size of all the other Cloysters of this Court; that on the East Side was called *Solomon's* Porch, because it stood upon that vast Terrace which *Solomon* built up from the Valley beneath, of 400 Cubits height, which was the only work of *Solomon's* Temple that remain'd in our Saviour's time, and therefore it was called *Solomon's* Porch or Cloyster, *John x. v. 23. Acts iii. v. 11.* (O) The outer Court of the Temple called the Court of the *Gentiles*. (P) The outer Inclosure of the inner Courts, being a Wall curiously wrought of 3 Cubits height, within which no Gentile was to enter, or any polluted with the dead. (Q) The Wall inclosing the inner Court of the Temple.

(R) the Space between the said Wall and the outer Inclosure 10 Cubits broad,

broad, called the *Chel*. (S) The Stairs on the East-end leading from the Court of the *Gentiles* into the *Chel*, consisting of 14 Steps, each 9 Inches high. (T) The Stairs from the *Chel* into the Court of the Women, consisting of 5 Steps, each 9 Inches high.

(V) The Gate entering into the Court of the Women on the East, called the beautiful Gate of the Temple, *Acts* iii. v. 2. because of its Sumptuousness and beautiful Adornments. (W) Other two Gates entering into the Court of the Women, one on the South, and the other on the North.

(X) The Court of the Women; so called, because thus far the Women might enter to Worship, but not further; it was 135 Cubits square.

(Y) Cloysters on three Sides of the Court of the Women, over which were Gallerys for the Women. (ZZ) Two Rooms under the Floor of the Court of *Israel*, where the Musicians did lay up their Instruments. 1, 2, 3, 4. Four smaller Courts in the 4 Corners of the Court of the Women, each 40 Cubits long, and 30 broad. (1) Where the *Nazarites* performed what the Law required. (2) Where the Wood for the Altar was wormed by the blemish'd Priests before it was used. (3) Where the Leper was cleansed. (4) Where the Wine and Oyl was laid up for the Use of the Altar in Cellars built round it on the Inside.

(5) The Treasury Chests, where our Saviour saw the Widow cast in her two Mites, he then sitting on the Bench in the Cloysters. For all the Cloysters of the Temple had Benches next the inner Wall for the People to sell in this Court as well as in the Outer. And of some Place nigh these Chests is it to be understood where our Saviour is said to preach in the Treasury, *John* viii. v. 20. (6) The Semi-circular Stairs leading up from the Court of the Women to the great Brazen Gate, consisting of fifteen Steps. (7) The great Brazen Gate, or the Gate *Nicanor*, leading into the inner Court, in which the Temple and Altar stood, which Court represented the Tabernacle, and contained that Part which was properly called the Sanctuary; it was 135 Cubits in Breadth, and 187 in Length. (8) The Wall parting the Sanctuary from the Court of the Women. (9) The Place within the Sanctuary properly called the Court of *Israel*: For here stood the Stationary Men who represented the whole People of *Israel* at all times of publick Worship, and hither came up all other *Israelites* when they had any Sacrifice to be offered (the ordinary Place where all the rest worshipped was in the Court of the Women, the Men on the Floor, and the Women in the Gallerys) It contained the first Isle of the double Cloysters on the East end, and both the single Cloysters on the North and South Sides. (10) The Place properly called the Court of the Priests, it contained the second Isle of the double Cloysters at the East-end of the Sanctuary; the first two Cubits of its Breadth next the Court of *Israel* were taken up by the Desks of the Singers and Musicians, the other part was the Place where the Priests did worship that were out of Attendance. (11) The King's Seat near the Pillar, 2 *Chron.* vi. v. 13. and chap. xxviii. v. 13. (12) Winding Stairs leading up to the Rooms over the Gate *Nicanor*, that on the right Hand to the Wardrobe, where the Vestments for the Priests were kept,

kept, and that on the left to the Room where were provided the Cakes for the High Priest's daily Meat-offering. (13) The Room *Gazerh*, where the *Sanhedrim* sat, part was within the Sanctuary and part without; the *Sanhedrim* sat in that part which was without. (14) The Well-Room, where was a Well from whence Water was drawn for the Use of the Temple.

(15) Three Gates leading into the Sanctuary on the South Side, the first next the Draw-well Room was from thence called the Well-Gate, over which was the Room of *Asfines* where the Incense was made, the second was the Gate of *Firstlings*, and third the Gate of *Kindling*.

(16) The Wood-Room; where the Wood for the Altar, after it had been wormed was laid ready for Use; over it was the Chamber of the High-Priest called *Paradim*, where he held the Council of the Temple.

(17) A Guard Room for the *Levites*. (18) A Treasury Room.

(19) The common Fire-Room and chief Guard-Room for the *Levites*.

(20) The common Fire-Room and chief Guard-Room for the Priests.

(21) A Stone in the middle of the said Room, under which the Keys of the Temple were laid every Night. (22) The Room where the Lambs for the daily Sacrifice were kept. (23) The Bath Room where the Priests bathed on their contracting Uncleaness. (24) The Room where the Shew-bread was made. (25) The Room where the Stones of the Altar polluted by *Antiochus* were laid up by the *Maccabees*.

(26) Three Gates on the North-side leading into the Sanctuary; the first towards the East-end called the Gate *Nitzotz*, or of Singing; the second the Gate of Women, and the Gate *Corban*. (27) The Room where the Salt was kept for the Service of the Altar. (28) The Room where the Skins of the Sacrifices were laid up. (29) The Room where the Inwards of the Sacrifices were washed. (30) Another Guard Room for the *Levites*, over which was a Guard Chamber for the Priests.

(31) The Room where the Priest was set apart seven days, that was to burn the red Cow. (32) Ringles where the Sacrifices were tyed down to be slain. (33) Eight Posts on which the Sacrifices were hung up to be flea'd. (34) Marble Tables where the Sacrifices were cut out in pieces. (35) The Altar of Burnt-Offerings 24 Cubits Square at the top, and 32 at the Bottom. (36) The Ascent to the Altar, being 32 Cubits long. (37) The Marble Tables where the pieces of the Sacrifices were laid that were ready for the Altar.

(38) The Brazen Sea.

(39) The Stairs up into the Porch, being 12 in number.

(40) The Entrance into the Porch, 20 Cubits broad and 40 high.

(a) The two Pillars *Jachin* and *Boaz* standing in the Entrance.

(b) The Porch, eleven Cubits broad, and sixty long.

(cc) The Room where the Butchering Instruments used about the Sacrifices were laid up. (d) The outer Wall of the Porch. (e) The inner Wall of the Porch. (f) The Gate from the Porch into the Holy Place.

(g) The Wicket thro' which the Priest went to unbar the Gate on the Inside for the opening of it in the Morning, and come out after having barr'd

barr'd it in the Evening. (b) The Holy Place, 20 Cubits broad and 40 long, in which were (i) The Candlestick having seven Lamps; (k) The Shew-bread Table; (l) The Altar of Incence. (m) The Holy of Holies 20 Cubits Square, in which were (n) the Ark of the Covenant, (o) The two *Cherubims* ten Cubits high, with their Faces inwards, and their Wings extended to each other over the Ark and to the Walls on either Side. (p) The Veil of the Temple parting between the Holy and the Holy of Holys, which was rent in pieces at our Saviour's Death. (q) The Treasury Rooms on the Sides and West End of the Temple, three Stories high, in which the Tithes were laid up. (r) The Passages into the said Rooms. (s) The Gallerys running before them. (t) The winding Stair-cases leading into the upper Story. (u) Winding Stairs leading up into the Rooms over the Porch and Temple.

(ww) The Πτερύγιον or Wings of the Temple stretching out on either Side.

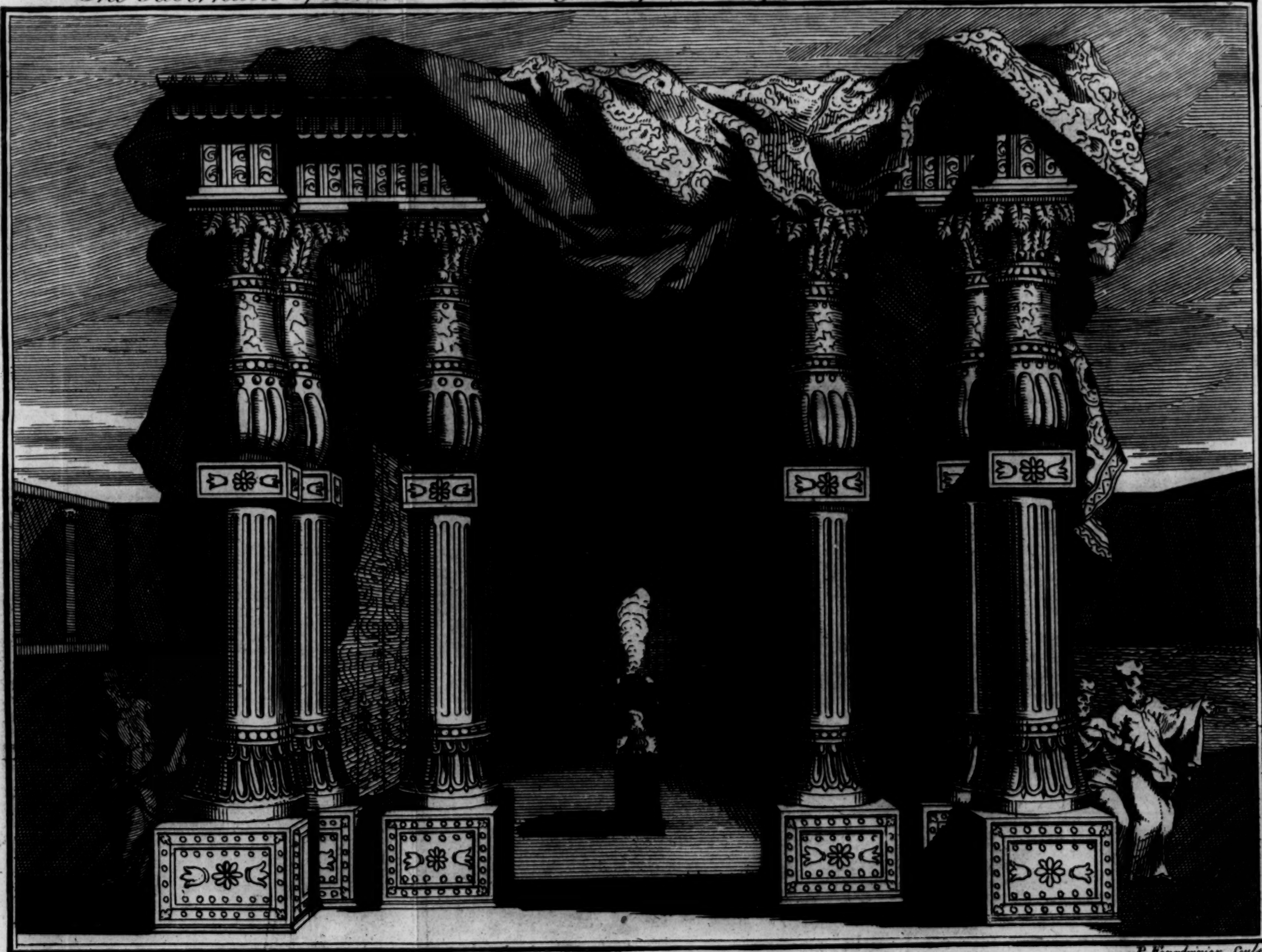
The Length of the Temple from out to out was 100 Cubits.

The Breadth of the Temple at the Πτερύγιον from out to out 100 Cubits, the Breadth of the Temple beyond the Πτερύγιον from out to out 70 Cubits, the Height of the Temple 100 Cubits. The Height of the Πτερύγιον 120 Cubits, at the Top of which it was that the Devil did set our Saviour. *Matth. iv. verse 5.*

Delineated and Described according to the Scriptures, *Josephus*, and the *Talmud*, by *H. Prideaux*, D. D. Dean of *Norwich*.



The Tabernacle Open, and the Vail lifted up, shewing the Holy of Holies.



But their zeal for the Temple being that, which had brought most of them back again into *Judæa*, the rebuilding of this was what they had their hearts most intent upon. Anno 534.
Cyrus 3.

And therefore having imployed the first year (z) in preparing materials, and contracting with Carpenters, and Maſons, for the work, (a) in the second month of the second year they laid the foundation of the Houſe, which was done with great ſolemnity. For *Zerubbabel* the Governor, and *Jeshua* the High-Prieſt being preſent with all the Congregation, the Trumpeters blew their Trumpets, and the Muſicians ſounded their Instruments, and Singers ſung, all in praiſe to the Lord their God, and all the reſt of the people ſhouted for joy, while the firſt ſtones were laid; only the old men, who had ſeen the glory of the firſt Temple, and had no expectation, that this, which was now a building by a few poor exiles lately returned into their Country, could ever equal that, which had all the riches of *David* and *Solomon*, two of the wealthieſt Princes of the *East*, expended in the erecting of it, wept at the remembrance of the old Temple, while others rejoiced at the laying the foundations of the new. And indeed the difference between the former Temple and this, which was now a building, was ſo great, that God himſelf tells the Prophet (b) *Haggai*, that the latter in compariſon with the former was as nothing, ſo much did it come ſhort of it; But this is not to be underſtood of its bigneſs. For the ſecond Temple was of the ſame dimensions with the firſt, it being built upon the very ſame foundations, and therefore it was exactly of the ſame length and breadth. *Cyrus's* Commiſſion may ſeem to make it broader. For that allows (c) fixty Cubits to its breadth, whereas *Solomon's* Temple is ſaid to have been but (d) 20 Cubits in breadth.

(z) *Ezra* iii. 7.
gai ii. 3.
iii. 3.

(a) *Ezra* iii. 8, 9, 10, &c.

(b) *Hag-*

(c) *Ezra* vi. 3.

(d) 1 *Kings* vi. 2. 2 *Chron.*

But these different measures are to be understood in respect of the different distances, between which the said measures were taken. The 20 Cubits breadth said of *Solomon's Temple* was only the breadth of the Temple it self, measuring from the inside of the wall on the one side to the inside of the wall on the other side. But the sixty Cubits breadth in *Cyrus's Commission* was the breadth of the whole building, measuring from the inside of the outer Wall of it on the one side, to the inside of the outer Wall on the other side. For (e) besides the Temple it self, which contained the Holy-place, and the Holy of Holies, each 20 Cubits broad, there were thick Walls inclosing it on each side, and without them Chambers on each side, then another Wall, then a Gallery, and then the outer walls of all enclosing the whole building being five Cubits thick, which all together made up the whole breadth to be seventy Cubits from out to out, from which deducting the five Cubits breadth of the outer Wall on each side you have remaining the breadth of *Cyrus's Commission*, that is sixty Cubits, which was the breadth of the whole building from the inside of one outer Wall to the inside of the other. So that the difference of the said twenty Cubits breadth, and of the said 60 Cubits breadth, is no more than this, that one of them was measured from the inside to the inside of the inner Walls, and the other from the inside to the inside of the outer Walls of the said Temple.

But the Glory of *Solomon's Temple* was not in the Temple it self, much less in the Bigness of it. For that alone was but a small Pile of building, (f) as containing no more than an hundred and fifty foot in length, and an hundred and five in breadth, taking the whole of it together from out to out, which is exceeded by many of our Parish Churches. The main grandure and excellency of it consisted, 1st, In its Ornaments, its workmanship being every where ex-

(e) See Lightfoot of the Temple.

(f) See my Map of the Temple.
ceeding

ceeding curious, and its overlayings vast and prodigious. For the overlayings of the Holy of Holies only, which was a Room but 30 Foot square, and 30 Foot high, amounted (*g*) to six hundred Talents of Gold, which comes to four millions three hundred and twenty thousand pound of our sterling money. 2dly, In its Materials. For *Solomon's* Temple was all built of new large stones, hewen out in the most curious and artful manner, whereas the second Temple was mostly built of such stones only, as they dug up out of the ruins of the former. 3dly, In its Out-buildings. For the Court, in which the Temple stood, and that without it called the Court of the women, were built round with stately Buildings and Cloysters; and the Gates entring therein were very beautiful, and sumptuous. And the outer-Court, which was a large Square encompassing all the rest of 750 foot on every side, was surrounded with a most stately and magnificent Cloyster, sustained by 3 Rows of Pillars on three sides of it, and by four on the fourth. And all the Out-buildings then lay in their rubbish, without any prospect of a speedy reparation. And there could then be no such ornaments or materials in this new Temple, as there were in the former. In process of time indeed all the out-buildings were restored, and such ornaments and materials were added on *Herod's* repairing of it, that the second Temple after that came little short herein of the former. And there are (*b*) some, who will say, that it exceeded it. But still what was the main glory of the first Temple, those extraordinary marks of the divine favour, with which it was honoured, were wholly wanting in the second. The *Jews* reckon them up in these (*i*) five particulars; 1, The Ark of the Covenant and the mercy seat, which was upon it; 2, The *Shecinah* or Divine Presence; 3, The

(*g*) 2 Chron. iii. 8.

(*b*) R. Azarias in meor Enaim Part. 3.

c. 51. (*i*) Talmud Bab. in yoma, c. 1. f. 21. & Talmud Hierosol. in Taanith, c. 2 f. 65.

Urim and Thummim; 4, The Holy Fire upon the Altar, and 5thly, The Spirit of Prophecy.

I. The Ark of the Covenant was (*k*) a small Chest, or Coffer, three foot nine Inches in length, and two foot three Inches in breadth, and two foot three Inches in height. In which were put the two Tables of the Law, as well the broken ones (say (*l*) the Rabbins) as the whole; and that there was nothing else in it, when it was brought into *Solomon's* Temple, is said in (*m*) two places of Scripture. But the Rabbins raise a Controversy concerning *Aaron's* Rod, and the Pot of Manna, and the original volume of the Law, written by *Moses's* own hand, whether they were not also in the Ark. It is said of (*n*) *Aaron's* Rod, and the (*o*) pot of Manna, that they were laid up before the Testimony, and it being agreed on all hands, that by the Testimony are meant the two Tables, those, who interpret these words [*Before the Testimony*] in the strictest sense, will have the said Rod and Pot of Manna to have been laid up immediately before the Tables within the Ark. For otherwise (say they) they would not have been laid up before the Testimony, but before the Ark. But others, who do not understand the words in so strict a sense, say they were laid up in the Holy of Holies without the Ark, in a place just before it, thinking that in this position without the Ark, they may be as well said to be laid up before the Testimony or Tables of the Law, as if they had been placed im-

(*k*) Exod. xxv. 10 — 22.

(*l*) For the proof of this they bring the 2d verse of the 10th Chapter of Deuteronomy, which they read thus. And I will write on the Tables the words that were on the first Tables, which thou brakest, and hast put in the Ark; and it is true the word is *Veshamata*, i. e. thou hast put; in the preter Tense, but it being with a *Vau* before it, that turns the preter Tense into the future, and therefore it must be read Thou shalt put them, as in our Translation, and not, thou hast put them, as the fautors of this opinion would have it.

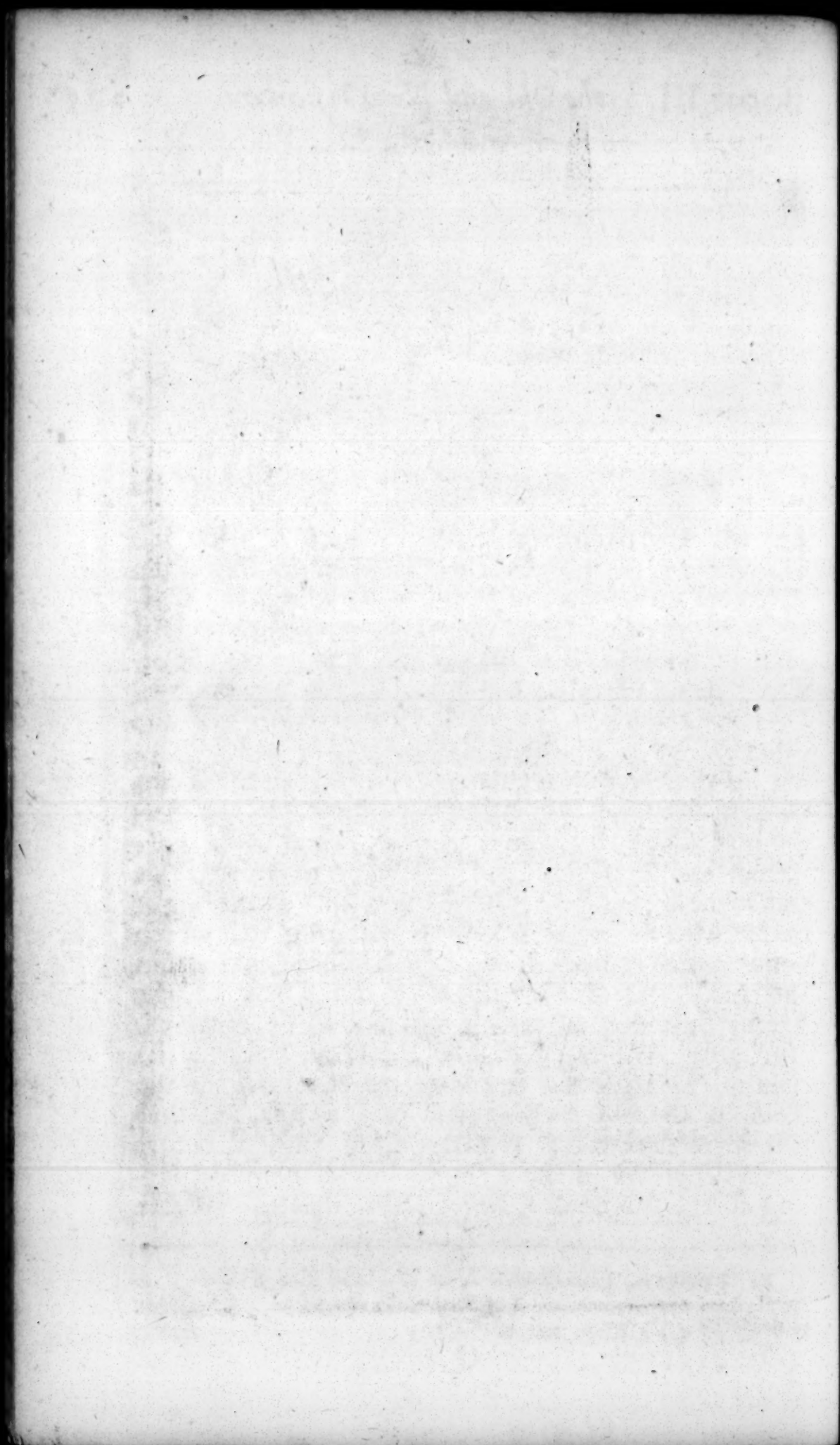
(*m*) 1 Kings viii. 9. 2 Chron. v. 10.

(*n*) Num. xvii. 10.

(*o*) Exod. xvi. 33. where to lay up before the Lord, is by the Jewish Commentators interpreted as the same with Before the Testimony of the Lord.

mediately





mediately before them within the Ark. But the Holy Apostle St. *Paul* decides this Controversy. For he positively tells us, *That (p) within the Ark were the golden pot that had Manna, and Aaron's Rod, and the Tables of the Covenant.* As to the Book, or volume of the Law, it being commanded to be put (q) *Mitzzad* i. e. *on the side* of the Ark, those who interpret that word of the inside place it within the Ark, and those, who interpret it of the outside, place it on the outside of it in a Case or Coffer made of purpose for it, and laid on the right side, meaning by the right side that end of it which was on the right hand. And the last seem to be in the right as to this matter. For 1st, The same word, (r) *Mitzzad*, is made use of, where it is said, that the *Philistines* sent back the Ark with an offering of Jewels of Gold put in a Coffer *by the side of it.* And there it is certain, that word must be understood of the outside, and not of the inside. 2^{dly}, The Ark was not of Capacity enough to hold the volume of the whole Law of *Moses* with the other things placed therein. 3^{dly}, The end of laying up the Original volume of the Law in the Temple was, that it might be reserved there, as the Authentick Copy, by which all others were to be corrected, and set right, and therefore to answer this end it must have been placed so, as that access might be had thereto on all occasions requiring it, which could not have been done, if it had been put within the Ark, and shut up there by the Cover of the Mercy Seat over it, which was not to be removed. And 4^{thly}, When (s) *Hilkiah* the High-Priest in the time of *Josiah* found the Copy of the Law in the Temple, there is nothing said of the Ark, neither is it there spoken of, as taken from thence, but as found elsewhere in the Temple. And therefore putting all this together it seems plain, that the volume

(p) Hebrews ix. 4. and hereto agree Abarbanel on 1 Kings viii. 9. and R. Levi Ben Gersom. (q) Deutron. xxxi. 26. (r) 1 Sam. vi. 8. (s) 2 Kings xxii. 8.

of the Law was not laid within the Ark, but had a particular Coffer, or repository of its own, in which it was placed on the side of it. And the word *Mitz-zad*, which answers to the *Latin a Latere*, cannot truly bear any other meaning in the *Hebrew* language. And therefore the *Chaldee* Paraphrase, which goes under the name of *Jonathan Ben Uzziel*, in paraphrasing on these words of *Deuteronomy*, (t) *Take this Book of the Law, and put it in the side of the Ark of the Covenant*, renders it thus, *Take the Book of the Law, and place it in a Case or Coffer on the right side of the Ark of the Covenant of the Lord your God*. Over (u) the Ark was the Mercy Seat, and it was the Covering of it. It was all made of solid Gold, and of the thickness (say the *Rabbins*) of an hand's breadth. At the two ends of it were two Cherubins looking inward towards each other with wings expanded, which embracing the whole circumference of the Mercy Seat did meet on each side in the middle. All which (say (w) the *Rabbins*) was made out of the same Mass without joining any of the parts by Solder. (x) Here it was where the *Shecinah* or divine presence rested both in the Tabernacle and Temple, and was visibly seen in the appearance of a cloud over it. And from hence (y) the divine Oracles were given out by an audible voice, as often as God was consulted in the behalf of his people. And hence it is that God is so often said in Scripture (z) to dwell between the Cherubins, that is, between the Cherubins on the Mercy Seat, because there was the Seat or Throne of the visible appearance of his glory among them. And (a) for this reason the High-Priest appeared before this Mercy Seat once every year on the great

(t) Deut. xxxi. 26. (u) Exod. xxv. 17—22. (w) R. Levi Ben Gersom, R. Solomon, Abarbanel, and others. (x) Lev. xvi. 2. (y) Exod. xxv. 22. Numb. vii. 89. (z) 1 Sam. iv. 4. 2 Sam. vi. 2. 2 Kings xix. 15. 1 Chro. xiii. 6. Psalm lxxx. 1. & Psal. xc. 1. (a) Levit. xvi. 29—34. Numb. xxix. 7. Hebrews ix. 7. Talmud in Yoma.

day of Expiation, when he was to make his nearest approach to the divine presence to mediate, and make atonement, for the whole people of *Israel*. And all else of that Nation, who served God according to the *Levitical* Law, made it the Center of their worship. And not only in the Temple, when they came up thither to worship, but every where else in their dispersion through the whole world, whenever they prayed (*b*) they turned their faces towards the place, where the Ark stood, and directed all their devotions that way. And therefore the Author of the Book (*c*) *Cozri* justly saith, that the *Ark*, with the Mercy Seat, and Cherubins, were the foundation, root, heart, and marrow of the whole Temple, and all the *Levitical* worship therein performed. And therefore had there nothing else of the first Temple been wanting in the second, but the Ark only, this alone would have been reason enough for the old men to have wept, when they remembred the first Temple, in which it was, and also for the saying of *Haggai*, That (*d*) the second Temple was as nothing in comparison of the first; so great a part had it in the glory of this Temple, as long as it remained in it. However the defect was supplied, as to the outward form. For in (*dd*) the second Temple there was also an Ark made of the same shape, and dimensions, with the first, and put in the same place. But though it was there substituted in its stead (as there was need, that such an one should for the service, that was annually performed before it on the great day of Expiation) yet it had none of its Prerogatives, or Honours conferred upon it. For there were no Tables of the Law, no *Aaron's* Rod, no pot of Manna in it, no appearance of the Divine Glory over it, no Oracles given from it. The first Ark was made and consecrated by God's appointment, and had all these Prerogatives, and Honours, given unto it by him. But the

(*b*) 1 Kings viii. 48. Daniel vi. 10. (*c*) Part II. § 28.

(*d*) Chap. ii. 3.

(*dd*) Lightfoot of the Temple, c. 15. § 4.

second being appointed and substituted by man only, to be in the stead and place of the other, could have none of them. And the only use, that was made of it, was to be a representative of the former on the great day of Expiation, and to be a repository of the Holy Scriptures, that is of the Original Copy of that Collection, which was made of them after the Captivity by *Ezra*, and the men of the Great Synagogue, as will be hereafter related. For when this Copy was perfected, it was there laid up in it. And in imitation hereof the *Jews* in all their Synagogues have a like (e) Ark or Coffer of the same size or form, in which they keep the Scriptures belonging to the Synagogue, and from whence they take it out with great solemnity, whenever they use it, and return it with the like, when they have done with it. That there was any Ark at all in the second Temple, many of the *Jewish* Writers do deny, and say that the whole service of the great day of Expiation was performed in the second Temple, not before any Ark, but before (ee) the stone, on which the Ark stood in the first Temple. But since on their building of the second Temple they found it necessary for the carrying on of their worship in it to make a new Altar of Incense, a new shew-bread Table, and a new Candlestick, instead of those which the *Babylonians* had destroyed, though none of them could be consecrated, as in the first Temple, there is no reason to believe, but that they made a new Ark also, there being as much need of it for the carrying on of their Worship, as there was of the others. And since the Holy of Holies, and the Veil that was drawn before it, were wholly for the sake of the Ark, what need had there been of these in the second Temple, if there had not been the other also? Were it clear, that it is the figure of the Ark, that is on the Tri-

(e) Vide Buxtorfii Synagogam c. 14. (ee) This the Rabbins call the Stone of Foundation, and give us a great deal of Trash about it. See the Mishna in Yoma, & Buxtorf. de Arca, c. 22.



umphal Arch of *Titus*, still remaining at *Rome*, this would be an undeniable demonstration for what I here say. For therein his Triumph for the taking of *Jerusalem* being set forth in Sculpture, there is to be seen even to this day carried before him in that Triumph the Golden Candlestick, and another figure, which *Adrichomius* and some others say, is the Ark, but *Villalpandus*, *Cornelius a Lapide*, *Ribara*, and the generality of learned men, who have viewed that Triumphal Arch, tell us, that it is the Table of shew-bread. The Obscurity of the figures, now almost worn out by length of time, makes the difficulty; but by the exactest draughts, which I have seen of it, it plainly appears to have been the shew-bread Table, especially from the two Cups on the Top of it. For two such Cups filled with Frankincense were always put upon the shew-bread Table, but never upon the Ark. *Josephus*, who was present at the Triumph of *Titus*, and saw the whole of it, (f) tells us of three things therein carryed before him, 1st, The shew-bread Table, 2^{dly}, The Golden Candlestick (which he mentions in the same order, as they are on the Arch) and 3^{dly}, The Law, which is not on the Arch: most likely it was omitted there only for want of Room to engrave it. For as there is the figure of a Table carried aloft before the shew-bread Table, and another before the Golden Candlestick, to express by the writings on them, what the things were which they were carried before, so after the Golden Candlestick there is on the said Arch a third Table without any thing after it, the Arch there ending without affording Room for any other Sculpture; where the thing omitted, no doubt, was what *Josephus* saith was carried in the third place, that is, The Law; which is not to be understood of any common Volume (of which there were hundreds every where in common use, both in their Synagogues, and in private hands) but of that, which

(f) *Josephus de Bello Judaico*, lib. 7. c. 17.

was found in the Temple, (as the other two particulars were) and laid up there, as the Authentick and most sacred Copy of it. And it cannot be imagined, it should be carried otherwise, than in that Repository, in which it was laid, that is in the Ark, which was made for it under the second Temple. But to return to the Ark under the first Temple, which was that I was describing. It was made (g) of Wood, excepting only the Mercy Seat, but overlaid with Gold all over both in the inside and the outside, and it had a ledge of Gold surrounding it on the Top in form of a Crown, into which, as into a socket, the Cover was let in. The place where it stood (h) was the innermost and most sacred part of the Temple, called *The Holy of Holies*, and sometimes *The most Holy place*, which was ordained and made of purpose for its reception. The whole end and reason of that most sacred place being none other, but to be a Tabernacle for it. This Place or Room was (i) of an exact Cubic form, as being thirty foot square and thirty foot high. In the Center of it the Ark was placed upon a Stone (say (k) the *Rabbins*) rising there three fingers breadth above the floor, to be, as it were, a Pedestal for it. On the two sides of it stood (l) two Cherubins fifteen foot high, one on the one side, and the other on the other side, at equal distance between the Center of the Ark and each side Wall; where having their Wings expanded, with two of them they touched the said side Walls, and with the other two they did meet, and touch each other, exactly over the middle of the Ark; so that the Ark stood exactly in the middle between these two Cherubins. But it is not in respect of these, that God is so often said in Scripture to dwell between the Cherubins, but in respect of the Cherubins only, which were on the Mercy Seat, as hath been

(g) Exod. xxv. 10—22. (h) 1 Kings viii. 16. (i) 1 Kings vi. 20. (k) Yoma, c. v. § 2. (l) 1 Kings vi. 23. 2 Chron. iii. 10.

observed. For most of those places of Scripture, wherein this Phrase is found, were written before *Solomon's* Temple was built, and 'till then there were no such Cherubins in the most Holy place. For they were put there in the Temple only, and not in the Tabernacle. These Cherubins stood not with their faces outward, as they are commonly represented, but with their faces *(m)* inward, and therefore were in the posture of figures worshipping, and not in the posture of figures to be worshipped, as some fautors of Idolatry do assert. The Ark while it was ambulatory with the Tabernacle was carried *(n)* by staves on the shoulders of the *Levites*. These staves were overlaid with Gold, and put thorough Golden rings made for them, not on the sides of the Ark, as all hitherto have asserted, but on the two ends of it: Which plainly appears from this, that when it was carried into the Temple of *Solomon*, and fixed there in the most Holy Place, which was ordained and prepared of purpose for it, the Scriptures tell us, *(o)* that the staves being drawn out reached downward towards the Holy place, which was without the most holy place, or Holy of Holies. For had they been on the sides of the Ark lengthway, they would on their being drawn out have reached towards the side wall, and not downward, unless you suppose the Ark to have been there put sideway with one of its ends downward, and the other upward, which no one will say. And it is a plain Argument against it, that the High-Priest, when he appeared before the Ark on the great Day of Expiation, is said to have gone up to it *(p)* between the staves; but if these staves had been drawn out from the sides, there would then have been but two foot three inches between them, which would not have afforded the High-Priest room

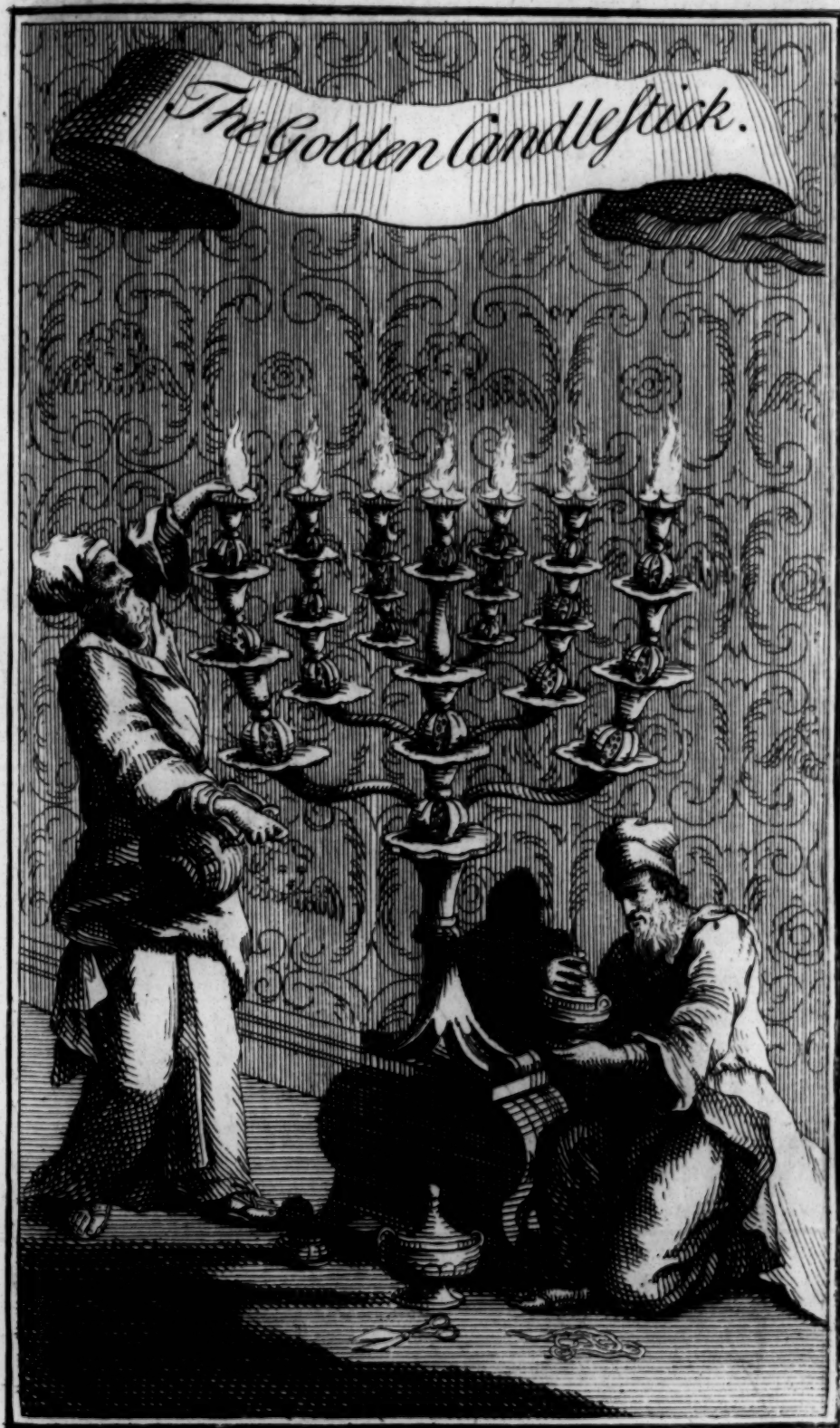
(m) 2 Chron. iii. 13. *(n)* Exodus xxv. 13, 14, &c. & xxvii. 5.
 Numb. iv. 4, 5, 6. 1 Chron. xv. 15. *(o)* 1 Kings viii. 8. 2 Chron.
 v. 9. *(p)* Mishnah in Yoma, c. 5. Maimonides in Avodhath.
 Yom Haccipurim,

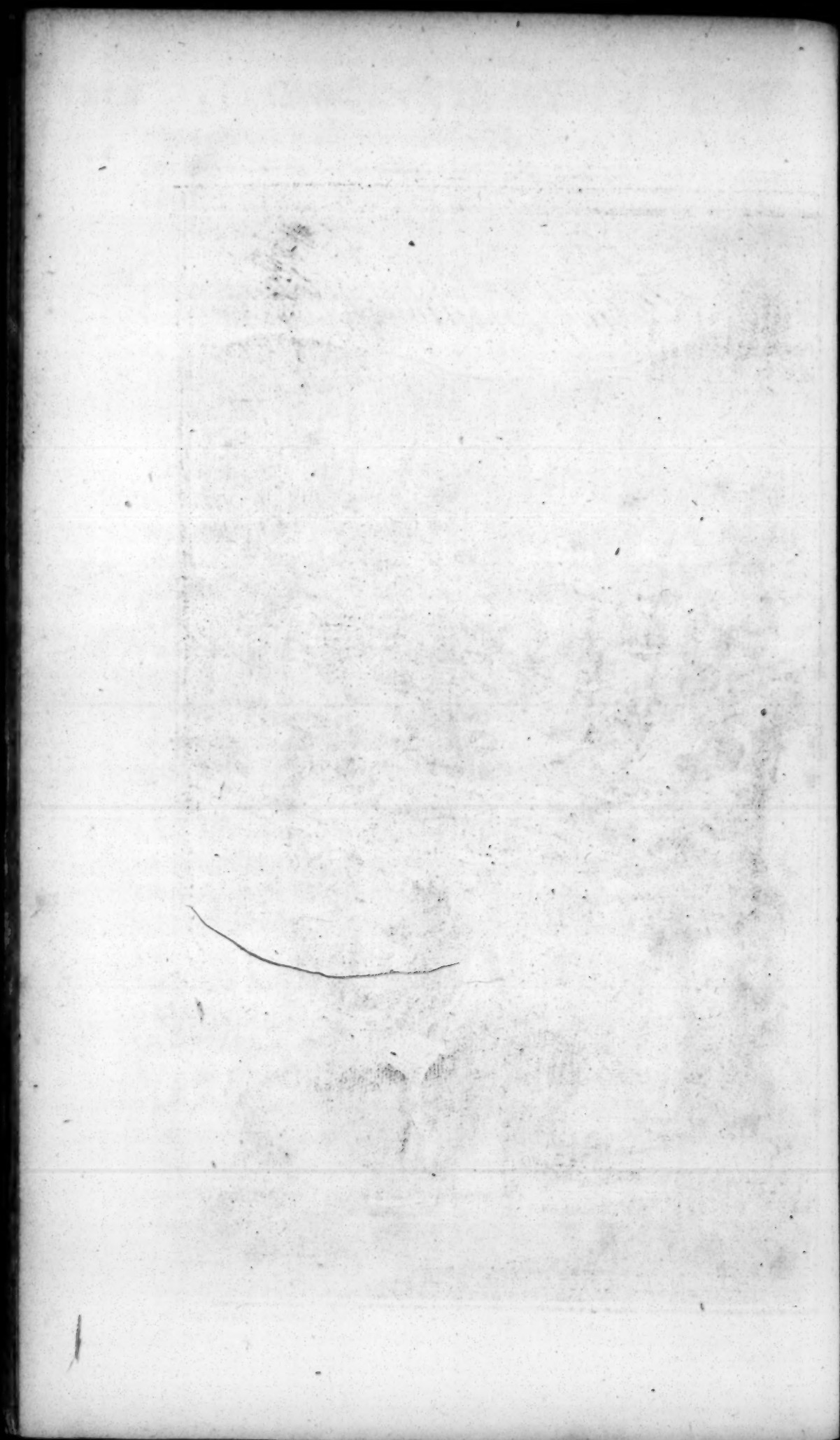
enough with all his vestments on to have passed on between them towards the Ark for the performance of that duty. Neither could the Bearers in so near a position of the staves to each other go with any convenience in the carrying of the Ark from place to place on their Shoulders, but they must necessarily have incommoded each other both before and behind in going so near together. What became of the old Ark on the destruction of the Temple by *Nebuchadnezzar*, is (q) a dispute among the *Rabbins*. Had it been carried to *Babylon* with the other vessels of the Temple, it would again have been brought back with them at the end of the Captivity. But that it was not so, is agreed on all hands, and therefore it must follow, that it was destroyed with the Temple; as were also the Altar of Incense, the Shew-bread Table, and the Golden Candlestick. For all these in the second Temple were made anew after the rebuilding of it. However the *Jews* contend, that it was hid and preserved by *Jeremiah*, say some, out of the (r) second Book of *Maccabees*. But (s) most of them will have it, that King *Josiah* being foretold by *Huldah* the Prophetess, that the Temple would speedily after his death be destroyed, caused the Ark to be put in a vault under ground, which *Solomon* foreseeing this destruction had caused of purpose to be built for the preserving of it. And for the proof hereof they produce the Text, where *Josiah* commands the *Levites* (t) to put the Holy Ark in the House, which *Solomon the Son of David King of Israel did build*, interpreting it of his putting of the Ark into the said Vault, where they say it hath lain hid ever since even to this day, and from thence shall be manifested, and brought out again in the days of the *Messiah*; whereas the words import no more, than that *Manasseh*, or *Ammon*, having removed the Ark from whence it ought to have stood, *Josiah* commanded it

(q) Vide Buxtorfium de Arca. c. 21, 22.

(r) 2 Macc. ii.

(s) Vide Buxtorfium, *Ibid.* (t) 2 Chron. xxxv. 3.





The New Bread Table.





again to be restored into its proper place. Other doctages of the *Rabbins* concerning this Ark I forbear troubling the Reader with.

II. The second thing wanting in the second Temple, which was in the first, was the *Shecinah*, or the Divine presence, manifested by a visible Cloud resting over the Mercy Seat, as hath been already shewn. This Cloud did there first appear when *Moses* consecrated the Tabernacle, and was afterwards on the consecrating of the Temple by *Solomon* translated thither. And there it did continue in the same visible manner, till that Temple was destroyed, but after that it never appeared more. Its constant place was (u) directly over the Mercy Seat, but it rested there only, when the Ark was in its proper place in the Tabernacle first, and afterwards in the Temple, and not while it was in movement from place to place, as it often was during the time of the Tabernacle.

III. The third thing wanting in the second Temple, which was in the first, was the *Urim and Thummim*. Concerning this many have written very much, but by offering their various opinions have helped rather to perplex, than explain the matter. The points to be enquired into concerning it are these two, first, What it was, and secondly, What was the use of it.

I. As to what it was, the Scripture hath no where explained it any farther, than to say, that it was (uu) something, which *Moses* did put into the Breast-plate of the High-Priest. This Breast-plate (w) was a piece of Cloth doubled, of a span square, in which were set in sockets of Gold twelve precious stones bearing the names of the twelve Tribes of *Israel* engraven on them, which being fixed to the *Ephod*, or upper vestment of the High-Priest's Robes, was worn by him on his Breast on all solemn occasions. In this Breast-plate the *Urim and Thummim*, say (x)

(u) Levit. xvi. 2.

(uu) Exod. xxviii. 30. Levit. viii. 8.

(w) Exodus xxviii. 15—30. & xxix. 8—21.

(x) Exod.

xxviii. 30. Levit. viii. 8.

the Scriptures, were put. They, who hold them to have been some Corporeal things there placed besides the stones, will have them to be enclosed within the folding, or doubling, of the Breast-plate, which they say was doubled for this very purpose, that it might be made fit as in a purse to contain them in it. (y) *Christophorus a Castro*, and from him (z) Dr. *Spencer* tell us, that they were two images, which being thus shut up in the doubling of the Breast-plate did from thence give the oracular answer by a voice. But this is a Conceit which (a) a late very learned man hath sufficiently shewn to be both absurd and impious, as favouring more of Heathenism and Idolatry, than of the pure institution of a Divine Law. Some will have them to be the (b) *Tetragrammaton* or the ineffable name of God, which being written or engraven, say they, in a mysterious manner, and done in two parts, and in two different ways, were the things signified by the *Urim and Thummim*, which *Moses* is said to have put into the Breast-plate, and that these did give the Oracular power to it. And (c) many of the *Rabbins* go this way. For they have all of them a great opinion of the miraculous power of this name. And therefore not being able to gainsay the Evidence, which there is for the miracles of *Jesus Christ*, their usual answer is, (cc) that he stole this name out of the Temple, from the stone of foundation, on which it was there written (that is the stone on which the Ark formerly stood) and keeping it hid always about him, by vertue of that did all his wondrous works. Others, who hold in general for the addition of some things Corporeal denoted by the

(y) De vaticinio.

(z) In Dissertatione de Urim & Thummim.

(a) Dr. Pocock in his Comment on Hosea c. iii. v. 4.

(b) Para-

phrasis Jonathanis in Exod. xxviii. 30. Liber Zohar fol. 105. Editionis Cremonensis.

(c) R. Solomon, R. Moses Ben Nachman, R. Becai, R. Levi Ben Gerfom, aliique.

(cc) Toledoth Jesu ex Editione Wagenfelii, p. 6, 7. Raymundi Pugio Fidei, Part II. c. 8. Buxtorfii Lexicon Rab. p. 2541.

names of *Urim and Thummim*, (d) think not fit to enquire, what they were as to the particular, but are of opinion, that they were things of a mysterious nature hid and closed up in the doubling of the Breast-plate, which *Moses* only knew of, who did put them there, and no one else was to pry into; and that these were the things, that gave the Oracular power to the High-Priest, when he had the Breast-plate on. But this looking too much like a *Telesme*, or a Spell, which were of those abominations that God abhorred, it will be safest to hold, that the words *Urim and Thummim* meant no such things, but only the divine vertue and power, given to the Breast-plate in its consecration, of obtaining an Oraculous answer from God, whenever Counsel was asked of him by the High-Priest with it on, in such manner as his word did direct; and that the names of *Urim and Thummim* were given hereto only to denote the clearness and perfection, which these Oracular answers always carried with them. For *Urim* signifieth *light*, and *Thummim* *perfection*. For these Answers were not, like the Heathen Oracles, enigmatical, and ambiguous; but always clear and manifest, not such as did ever fall short of perfection, either of Fulness in the answer, or Certainty in the truth of it. And hence it is, that the *Septuagint* translate *Urim and Thummim* by the words $\Delta\eta\lambda\omega\sigma\iota\nu\ \kappa\iota\ '\text{Αλ}\eta\theta\epsilon\iota\alpha\nu$, i. e. *Manifestation and Truth*, because all these Oracular Answers given by *Urim and Thummim* were always clear and manifest, and their truth ever certain and infallible.

2. As to the use, which was made of the *Urim and Thummim*, it was to ask Counsel of God in difficult and momentous Cases relating to the whole state of *Israel*. In order whereto the High-Priest did put on his Robes, and over them his Breast-plate, in which the *Urim and Thummim* were, and then presented himself before God to ask Counsel of him. But he

(d) R. David Kimchi, R. Abraham Seva, Aben Ezra, aliique.

(e) was

(e) was not to do this for any private man, but only for the King, for the President of the Sanhedrim, for the General of the Army, or for some other great Prince or publick Governor in *Israel*, and not for any (f) private Affairs, but for such only as related to the publick interest of the Nation, either in Church or State. For he appeared before God with the names of the twelve Tribes of *Israel* upon his Breast-plate, and therefore whatever Counsel he asked was in the name, and on the behalf, of all the Tribes, and consequently it must have been concerning matters which related publickly to them all. The place, where he presented himself before God, was (g) before the Ark of the Covenant, not within the Veil of the Holy of Holies, (for thither he never entered, but once a year on the great day of Expiation) but without the Veil in the Holy place. And there standing with his robes and breast-plate on, and his face turned directly towards the Ark and the Mercy-Seat over it, on which the Divine presence rested, he propos'd the matter, concerning which Counsel of God was asked, and directly behind him at some distance without the Holy place, perchance at the door (for farther no layman could approach) stood the Person, in whose behalf the Counsel was asked, whether it were the King, or any other publick Officer of the Nation, and there with all humility and devotion expected the answer, that should be given. But how this answer was given is, that which is made the great dispute. The (h) most common received opinion among the *Jews* is, that it was by the shining and protuberating of the letters in the names

(e) Mishnah in Yoma, c. 7. § 5. *The Talmudists prove this from Num. xxvii. 21. See Maimonides in Cele Hammikdash, c. 10. v. 12.*

(f) Abarbanel in Exod. xxviii. & in Deutron. xxxiii. R. Levi Ben Gersom, Maimonid. *ibid.* aliique. (g) Maimonides *ibid.* Yalkut, fol. 248. col. 1.

(h) Maimonides in Cele Hammikdash, c. 10. § 11. Zohar in Exodum. Yalkut ex antiquo libro *Siphre*. R. Becai in Deutron. xxxiii. 8. Ramban, R. Levi Ben Gersom, Abarbanel, R. Azarias in Meor Enaim, R. Abraham Seba, aliique.

of the twelve Tribes graven on the twelve stones in the Breast-plate of the High-Priest, and that in them he did read the Answer. They (i) explain it by the Example, which we have in the first Chapter of the Book of *Judges*. There the Children of *Israel*, either by the President of the *Sanhedrim*, or some other Officer entrusted with the publick interest, did ask Counsel of God; (k) *Who shall go up for us against the Canaanites first to fight against them?* The Answer given by the High-Priest, who did by *Urim and Thummim* then ask Counsel of God for them, was, (l) *Judah shall go up.* For having asked the Counsel he did immediately (say they) look into the Breast-plate, and saw there those letters shining above the rest, and protuberating beyond them, which being combined into words made up the Answer, which was given. And this Notion was very ancient among them. For both (m) *Josephus*, and (n) *Philo Judæus* have it, and from them several of the (o) Ancient Fathers of the Christian Church give the same account of this matter. But there are unanswerable objections against it. For 1st, All the letters of the *Hebrew Alphabet* are not to be found in these twelve names, four of them, that is *Cbeth, Teth, Zaddi*, and *Koph*, being wholly wanting in them. And therefore an answer could not be given this way to every thing, concerning which Counsel might have been asked of God. To solve this they have added the names of *Abraham, Isaac* and *Jacob* to the Breast-plate. But still the letter *Teth* will be wanting, and therefore farther to botch up the matter they have added also these words, *Col elleh shilte Israel*, i. e. *All these are the Tribes of Israel.* But this is not only without any foundation in Scripture, but rather contrary to it. For the Description of the

(i) Abarbanel in *Legem*, Ramban in *Legem*.(k) *Judg.* i. 1.(l) *Judg.* i. 2.(m) *Antiq. lib.* 3. c. 9.(n) *De monarchia**lib.* 2.(o) *Chrysostom. Hom.* 37. *adversus Judæos*, *Augustin.**lib.* 2. *Questionum supra Exodum*, aliique.

Breast-plate in Scripture being very particular in the reckoning up of all its parts, seems plainly to exclude whatever is not there named. *2dly*, The Assertors of this Opinion do not tell us, where the words, which they would have added, were placed in the Breast-plate. They could not be written or engraven on the Breast-plate it self; For that was only a piece of Cloth. They must therefore be engraven, either on some of the twelve stones, or else on others set there on purpose for it. They could not be on any of the twelve stones, because on them were only engraven the names of the twelve Tribes of *Israel*. And they could not be on other stones, because there were none other set there, but these twelve stones only. And in these two particulars the Scriptures are sufficiently positive to exclude all such additions. *3dly*, They that hold this opinion are forced to have recourse to the Spirit of Prophecy in the High-Priest for the right combining of those shining and protuberating letters, that were to make up the words of which the Answer did consist, which is a difficulty of it self alone sufficient to explode this conceit. *4thly*, There were some Answers given of that length (as particularly that in the second of *Samuel*, Ch. v. ver. 23, 24.) that all the Letters in the Breast-plate, taking in all those also, which the assertors of this Opinion have added, will not suffice for them. It would be too tedious to add all else, that might be said to shew the absurdity of this Opinion. Dr. *Spencer* deservedly saith of it, that it is a Talmudical Camel, which no one, that is in his wits, can ever swallow.

There are also other Opinions offered by others concerning this matter. But to me it appears plain from Scripture, that when the High-Priest appeared before the veil to ask Counsel of God, the Answer was given him by an audible voice from the Mercy Seat, which was within behind the Veil. There it was that (*p*) *Moses* went to ask Counsel of God in

(*p*) *Exod.* xxv. 22. xxx. 6. *Num.* vii. 89.

all Cases, and from thence he was answered by an audible voice. For from thence God communed with him of all those things, which he gave him in commandment unto the Children of *Israel*. And in the same way did God afterwards communicate his will to the Governours of *Israel*, as often as he was consulted by them, only with this difference, that whereas *Moses*, through the extraordinary favour that was granted unto him, had immediate access to the divine presence, and God did there commune with him and speak to him as it were (q) face to face, as a Man speaketh to his Friend, none other was admitted thither to ask Counsel of him, but through (r) the mediation of the High-Priest, who in his stead asked counsel for him by *Urim and Thummim*, that is by presenting himself with the Breast-plate on over all his other Robes before the Veil, exactly over-against the Mercy-Seat, where the divine presence rested. And when he thus presented himself in due manner according to the prescription of the Divine Law, God gave him an answer in the same manner as he did unto *Moses*, that is by an audible voice from the Mercy-Seat. For in (s) many instances, which we have in Scripture of God's being consulted this way, the answer in every one of them, (t) except two, is ushered in with *the Lord said*; And when the *Israelites* made peace with the *Gibeonites*, they are blamed in that they asked not Counsel (u) *at the mouth of God*; both which phrases seem plainly to express a vocal answer, and taking them both together, I think, they can scarce import any thing else. And for this reason it is, that the Holy of Holies, the place where the Ark and the mercy seat stood, from whence this Answer was given, is so often in Scripture called (w)

(q) *Exod.* xxxiii. 11. (r) *Num.* xxvii. 21. *Judges* xx. 28.

(s) *Judges* i. 1, 2. xx. 18, 23, 28. 1 *Samuel* x. 22. xxiii. 2, 4, 11, 12. 2 *Samuel* ii. 1. & v. 19, 23 (t) 1 *Sam.* xxx. 7, 8. 2 *Sam.* xxi. 1. (u) *Joshua* ix. 14. (w) *Psalms* xxviii. 2. 1 *Kings* vi. 5, 16, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 31. & vii. 49. & viii. 6, 8. 2 *Chron.* iii. 16. iv. 20. & v. 7, 9.

the Oracle, because from thence the Divine Oracles of God were uttered forth to those, that asked Counsel of him.

This, I take it to be plain, was the manner of consulting God by *Urim and Thummim* in the Tabernacle, but how it was done in the Camp, raiseth another Question. For it appeareth by Scripture, that either the High-Priest, or another deputed in his stead, always went with the Armies of *Israel* to the Wars, and carried with him the *Ephod*, and Breast-plate, therewith to ask Counsel of God by *Urim and Thummim* in all difficult Emergencies, that might happen. Thus (x) *Phineas* went to the Wars against the *Midianites with the holy instruments*, that is, say the *Jewish Commentators*, (y) with the *Ephod* and the Breast-plate, which were, say they, put into an Ark or Coffin made on purpose for it, and carried by *Levites* on their shoulders, as the other Ark was. And of this Ark they understand that place of Scripture, where *Saul* saith to *Abiah* the High-Priest, (z) *Bring hither the Ark of God*. For this could not be the Ark of the Covenant. For that was then at *Kirjath-Jearim*, and never ought to have been removed from its place in the Tabernacle to be carried to the Wars, or any where else from its proper station, and never was so but once against the *Philistins*, and then God gave the Armies of *Israel*, and also the Ark it self, into the hands of the Enemy for the punishment hereof. It must therefore have been no other Ark, which *Saul* called to *Abiah* for, than that Ark or Coffin, in which the *Ephod* and Breast-plate were carried; and the end, for which he called for it, shews the thing. For it was to ask Counsel of God, for which the *Ephod* and Breast-plate served. So that the saying of *Saul* to *Abiah* (*Bring hither the Ark*) im-

(x) Num. xxxi. 6. (y) Paraphrasis Chaldaica Jonathanis Ben Uzziel Textum interpretatur his verbis. Et misit eos Moses, & Phineasum filium Eleazaris Sacerdotem ad bellum, & Urim & Thummim Sanctitatis ad interrogandum per ea.

(z) 1 Sam. xiv. 18.

porteth no more, than the saying of *David* afterwards to *Abiathar* in the like case, (a) *Bring hither the Ephod.* For this Ark was the Coffer, in which the *Ephod* was kept, and with which *Abiathar* fled to *David*, when *Saul* destroyed his Father's House. And of the same Ark they understand the saying of *Uriah the Hittite* unto *David*, when he excused his not going to his House, and lying with his Wife. (b) *The Ark, and Israel, and Judah abide in Tents, and my Lord Joab and the servants of my Lord are encamped in the open Fields, shall I then go into my House to eat, and to drink, and to lie with my Wife?* For if this be understood of the Ark of the Covenant, and the Tent or Tabernacle, in which it was kept, what he said would have been a reason for him never to have lain with his Wife. For that was always kept in such a Tent or Tabernacle, till the Temple of *Solomon* was built. It is most likely therefore that the Ark, which he speaks of, was the Ark or Coffer, in which the *Ephod* and Breast-plate were put, which the Priest carried with him, who was sent to the war.

The Priest that was sent on this occasion, that he might be fully qualified to act in the High-priest's stead, whenever there should be occasion for him to ask Counsel of God by *Urim and Thummim*, was (c) consecrated to the Office by the Holy anointing oil, in the same manner as the High-Priest was, and therefore he was called *The anointed for the Wars*. But how he had the answer is the difficulty. For there was no mercy seat in the Camp to appear before, or from whence to receive the Oracle, as there was in the Tabernacle. And yet that such Oracles were given in the Camp is certain from several Instances which we have of it in Scripture. For *David* did by the *Ephod* and Breast-plate only ask counsel of God (d) three several times in the case of *Keilah*,

(a) 1 Sam. xxiii. 9.

(b) 2 Sam. xi. 11.

(c) Maimo-

nides in Cele Hammikdash c. 1. § 7. & in Melachim c. 7. xxiii.

(d) 1 Sam.

and (*dd*) twice at *Ziglag*, once on the pursuit of those who had burnt that City, and again on his going from thence for *Hebron*, there to take possession of the Kingdom of *Judah* on the death of *Saul*, and on every one of these times he had an answer given him, tho' it is certain the Ark of the Covenant was not then present with him. It is most likely, since God allowed that Counsel should be thus asked of him in the Camp without the Ark, as well as in the Tabernacle, where the Ark was, that the answer was given in the same manner by an audible voice. It seems most probable, that *the Priest anointed for the wars* had a Tent in the Camp on purpose there erected for this use, in which a part was separated by a veil, in the same manner as the Holy of Holies was in the Tabernacle, and that when he asked Counsel of God in the Camp, he appeared there before that Veil in the same manner, as the High-Priest on the like Occasion did before that in the Tabernacle, and that the answer was given from behind it, tho' no Ark or mercy seat was there. And the words of *Uriah* above recited plainly refer us to such a Tent. And it cannot be agreeable to a Religion of so much Ceremony and Solemnity, to suppose them to be without it for so sacred an Office.

Although this way of asking Counsel of God was frequently used during the Tabernacle, and no doubt continued afterward 'till the Destruction of *Jerusalem* by the *Chaldeans*, yet we have no instance of it in Scripture during the whole time of the first Temple, and it is most certain, that it was wholly wanting in the second Temple. For (*e*) both *Ezra* and *Nehemiah* tell us as much. And hence is that saying among the *Jews*, That the Holy Spirit spake to the Children of *Israel* during the Tabernacle by *Urim and Thummim*, and under the first Temple by the Prophets, and under the second by (*ee*) *Bath-Kol*.

(*dd*) 1 Sam. xxx. 8. 2 Sam. ii. 1. (*e*) Ezra ii. 63. Nehemiah vii. 65.
 (*ee*) By this the Jews mean a voice from the Clouds, such as was heard from thence concerning our Saviour, Matth. iii. 7. xvii. 5. 2 Pet. i. 17.

They, who would have the *Urim and Thummim* absolutely to have ceased under the first Temple, give two reasons for it. 1st, (f) That it was an appendant of the Theocracy. For as long as God was the immediate Governor of *Israel*, it was necessary, say they, that a method should be established, whereby he might at all times be applyed to and consulted with by his people, and for this reason, they tell us, the Oracle by *Urim and Thummim* was appointed. But when the Theocracy ceased (which they say, it did, when *Solomon* the first Hereditary King sat upon the Throne) this Oracle ceased with it. And 2^{dly}, they say, That the *Urim and Thummim* was established to ask Counsel only about that which belonged to the common interest of all *Israel*, and therefore whenever the High-Priest asked Counsel of God this way, it was with the names of all the Tribes of *Israel* upon his Breast, to denote that what was asked, was for the common interest of all of them. But that common interest ceasing upon the Division of the Kingdom, this way of asking Counsel of God must in the nature of the thing have then ceased also, as being no longer practicable. But how far these Arguments may conclude, is left to every one to consider.

IV. The fourth thing wanting in the second Temple, which was in the first, was the Holy Fire, which came down from Heaven upon the Altar. (ff) It descended first upon the Altar in the Tabernacle at the consecrating of *Aaron*, and his Sons, to the Priesthood; and afterwards it descended anew (g) upon the Altar in the Temple of *Solomon*, at the consecrating of that Temple. And there it was constantly fed and maintained by the Priests day and night, without suffering it ever to go out, in the same manner, as it had been before in the Tabernacle; and with this all the Offerings were offered, that were

(f) Spencerus De *Urim & Thummim*, cap. 2. § 2.

(ff) Lev. ix.

24.

(g) 2 Chron. vii. 1.

made by Fire. And for using other Fire were *Nadab* and *Abihu* consumed by fire from the Lord. This, say (*b*) some of the Jewish writers, was extinguished in the days of *Manasseh*. But the more general opinion among them is, that it continued till the destruction of the Temple by the *Chaldeans*. After that it was never more restored, but instead of it they had only common fire in the second Temple. For what is said of its being (*i*) hid in a Pit by *Jeremiah*, and again brought thence, and revived upon the Altar in the second Temple, is a Fable that deserves no regard.

V. The fifth thing wanting in the second Temple, which was in the first, was the Spirit of Prophecy; but this was not wholly wanting there. For the Prophets *Haggai*, *Zechariah*, and *Malachi* lived after the second Temple was built, and prophesied under it. But on their death, which (say the Rabbins) hapned all in one year, the Prophetic Spirit wholly ceased from among them.

Besides these five things there was wanting also a sixth, that is the Holy anointing Oil, (*k*) which was made by *Moses* for the anointing and consecrating of the King, the High-Priest, and all the sacred Vessels made use of in the House of God. And for this use it was commanded to be kept by the Children of *Israel* throughout their Generations. And therefore it was laid up before the Lord in the most Holy place. And as the Original Copy of the Law was placed there on the right side of the Ark of the Covenant, so perchance the Vessel containing this Oil was placed on the other side of it, and there kept 'till the first Temple being destroyed that also was destroyed with it. Every (*l*) King was not anointed, but only the first of the Family. For he being anointed for himself, and all the Successors of his Race, they need-

(*b*) Talmud in Zebachim, cap. 6.

(*i*) 2 Macc. i. 18, 19.

(*k*) Exod. xxx. ——— 33.
dash, c. 1. § 11.

(*l*) Maimonides in Cele Hammik-

ed no other anointing, only if there arose any difficulty or dispute about the Succession, then he that obtained it, though of the same family, was anointed anew to put an end to the controversy, and after that no one was to question the Title, and this was the case of *Solomon, Joash, and Jehoaahaz*. But (m) every High-Priest was anointed at his consecration, or first admission to the Office, and so also was (n) the Priest that went in his stead to the Wars. The Vessels and Utensils that were anointed were the (o) Ark of the Covenant, the Altar of Incense, the shew-bread Table, the Golden Candlestick, the Altar of Burnt-Offerings, the Laver, and all other the Vessels and Utensils belonging to them. And as by this (p) anointing they were first consecrated at the erecting of the Tabernacle by *Moses*, so in case any of them were afterwards decayed, destroyed, or lost, they could, as long as this anointing oil remained, be again restored, by making and consecrating new ones in their place of the same virtue and holiness with the former. But this being wanting in the second Temple, the want hereof caused a want of Sanctity in all things else belonging to it. For although on the return of the *Jews* from the *Babylonish* Captivity, and the rebuilding of their Temple, they did anew make an Ark, an Altar of Incense, a shew-bread Table, a Golden Candlestick, an Altar of Burnt-Offerings, and a Laver, with the other Vessels and Utensils belonging to them, and did put them all in their former places, and applied them to their former uses, yet through want of the Holy anointing Oil to consecrate them, these all wanted that holiness under the second Temple, which they had under the first. And their High-Priest, who officiated in that Temple, was no otherwise consecrated than (pp) by the putting on of his Vestments. So that the want of this one thing only in the se-

(m) Exod. xxx. 30.

(n) Maimonides in Cele Hammikdash, c. 1.

§ 7. (o) Exodus xxx. 26 — 29.

(p) Exod. xl.

(pp) Mai-

monides in Cele Hammikdash, c. 1. § 8.

cond Temple caused a great want and defect in all things else, that were therein, every thing in it falling short of its former holiness by reason hereof. And therefore this anointing Oil might well under the second Temple have been reckoned among the principal things, that were wanting in it. But the Jews superstitiously confine themselves to the number of five particulars in this reckoning. For in the 8th verse of the first chapter of *Haggai*, where God saith of the second Temple, *I will take pleasure in it, and will be glorified*, the Hebrew word *Aicabedha*, i. e. *I will be glorified*, being written without the letter *He* at the end of it, which it ought to have been written with, they make a mystery of it, as (q) if this letter (which is the numerical letter for five) were there left out for this purpose, that the want of it might denote the five things of the first Temple, that were wanting in the second, and therefore will not add a sixth. But however there are some among them, who to make room for it contract the *Shecinah* and the *Spirit of Prophecy* under one and the same head, and instead of them two (which are two of the Particulars above-mentioned) put *the Holy Spirit*, as reckoning them no other than different manifestations of the same holy Spirit of God, the one in a place, and the other in a person, and thereby without altering the number of five in the reckoning up of these defects have given the Holy anointing Oil a place among them, and therefore name them (r) as followeth. 1. The Ark of the Covenant with the mercy-seat, 2. The holy Fire, 3. The *Urim and Thummim*, 4. The Holy anointing Oil, and 5. The Holy Spirit. And these, as well as many other particulars of the Glory of the first Temple, being wanting in the second, there was reason enough for those to weep at the rebuilding of the second Temple, who remembered the first. But all these wants and defects were

(q) Talmud Hierosol. in Taanith, c. 2.
Taanith.

(r) Talmud Hierosol. in

abundantly repaired in the second Temple, (rr) when the desire of all Nations, the Lord, whom they sought, came to this his Temple, and *Christ* our Saviour, who was the truest *Shecinab* of the Divine Majesty, honoured it with his Presence, and in this respect the Glory of the latter House did far exceed the Glory of the former House. And herein the Prophecies of the Prophet *Haggai*, (s) which foretold it should be so, had a very full and thorough completion.

The *Samaritans* hearing that the *Jews* had begun to rebuild the Temple of *Jerusalem*, (ss) came thither, and expressing a great desire of being admitted to worship God at the same Temple in joint communion with them, offered to joyn with them in the building of it, telling them, that ever since the days of *Efarbaddon* King of *Assyria* they had worshipped the same God that they did. But *Zerubbabel*, and *Jeshua*, and the rest of the Elders of *Israel* made answer to them, That they not being of the seed of *Israel* had nothing to do to build a Temple to their God with them. That *Cyrus's* Commission being only to those of the House of *Israel*, they would keep themselves exactly to that, and according to the Tenour of it build the House to the Lord their God themselves, without admitting any other with them into the work. The reason of this answer was, they saw they intended not sincerely what they said, but came with an insidious design to get an opportunity by being admitted among them, of doing them mischief. And besides they were not truly of their Religion. For although from the time that they had been infested with Lions in the days of *Efarbaddon*, they had worshipped the God of *Israel*, yet it was only (t) in conjunction with their other Gods, whom they worshipped before, and therefore notwithstanding their worship of the true God, since they worshipped false Gods too at the same time,

Anno 534.
Cyrus 3.

(rr) Malach. iii. 1. Haggai ii. 7.
(t) 2 Kings xvii. 3.

(s) Haggai ii. 9.

((s) Ezra iv.

they were in this respect Idolaters, and this was reason enough for the true worshippers of God to have no communion with them. At which the *Samaritans* being much incensed, they did all they could to hinder the work, and altho' they could not alter *Cyrus's* Decree, yet (u) they prevailed by Bribes and underhand dealings with his Ministers, and other Officers concerned herein, to put obstructions to the Execution of it, so that for several years the building went but very slowly on; which the *Jews* resenting, according as it deserved, this became the beginning of that bitter rancor, which hath ever since been between them and the *Samaritans*; which being improved by other causes grew a length to that height, that nothing became more odious to a *Jew*, than a *Samaritan*, of which we have several instances in the Gospels, and so it still continues. For even to this day a *Cuthean* (that is a *Samaritan*) in their language is the most odious name among them, and that which in the height of their anger by way of infamy and reproach they bestow on those they most hate and abominate. And by this they commonly call us *Christians*, when they would express the bitterest of their hatred against us.

By these underhand and subdolous dealings the work of the Temple being much retarded, and *Cyrus's* Decree in many particulars defeated of its effect, this seems to have been the cause, that in the third year of *Cyrus*, in the first month of that year (w), *Daniel* did give himself up to mourning and fasting for three weeks together. After this on the 24th day of that month he saw the vision concerning the Succession of the Kings of *Persia*, the Empire of the *Macedonians*, and the conquests of the *Romans*, of which the three last Chapters of his Prophecies contain an account. And by what is written in the Conclusion of the last of them he seems to have dyed soon after, and his great age makes it not likely that he could have surviv-

(u) *Ezra* iv. 5. *Josephus* Antiq. lib. 11. c. 2.(w) *Daniel* x.

ed much longer. For the third of *Cyrus* being the seventy third year of his Captivity, if he were eighteen years old at his carrying to *Babylon* (as I have shewn before, is the least, that can be supposed) he must have been in the ninety first year of his age at this time, which was a length of years given to few in those days. He was a very extraordinary person both in wisdom and piety, and was favoured of God, and honoured of men, beyond any that had lived in his time. His Prophecies concerning the coming of the *Messiah*, and other great events of after-times, are the clearest, and the fullest of all, that we have in the Holy Scriptures, in so much that (x) *Porphyry* in his objections against them saith, they must have been written after the facts were done. For it seems they rather appeared to him to be a narration of matters afore transacted, than a Prediction of things to come, so great an agreement was there between the facts, when accomplished, and the Prophecies, which foretold them. But notwithstanding all this (y) the *Jews* do not reckon him to be a Prophet, and therefore place his Prophecies only among the *Hagiographa*, and they serve the Psalms of *David* after the same rate. The (z) reason, which they give for it in respect of both is, that they lived not the Prophetick manner of life but the Courtly, *David* in his own Palace, as King of *Israel*, and *Daniel* in the Palace of the King of *Babylon*, as one of his chief Counsellors and Ministers in the Government of that Empire. And in respect of *Daniel*, they further add, (a) That altho' he had Divine Revelations delivered unto him, yet it was not in the Prophetic way, but by Dreams and Visions of the Night, which they reckon to be the most im-

(x) Hieronymus in Proœmio ad Comment in Daniele. (y) Hieronymi Præfatio in Daniele. Maimonides in Moreh Nevochim Part 2. c. 45.

(z) Vide Grotium in præfatione ad Comment. in Esaiam, & Huetii Demonstrationem Evangelicam, Prop. 4. c. 14. § De Prophetâ Danielis.

(a) Maimonides, ibid. David Kimchi in Præfatione ad Comment. in Psalmoꝝ.

perfect manner of Revelation, and below the Prophetick. But (b) *Josephus*, who was one of the ancientest writers of that Nation, reckons him among the greatest of the Prophets, and says farther of him that he had familiar converse with God, and did not only foretel future Events, as other Prophets did, but also determined the time when they should come to pass. And that whereas other Prophets only foretold evil things, and thereby drew on them the ill-will both of Princes and People, *Daniel* was a Prophet of good things to come, and by the good report which his Predictions carried with them on this account, reconciled to himself the good will of all men. And the event of such of them, as were accomplished, procured to the rest a thorough belief of their truth, and a general opinion, that they came from God. But what makes most for this point with us, against all that contradict it, our Saviour *Christ* acknowledgeth *Daniel* to be a prophet. For (c) he so styles him in the Gospel, and this is a sufficient decision of this matter.

But *Daniel's* wisdom reached not only to things divine, and political, but also to Arts, and Sciences, and particularly to that of Architecture. And *Josephus* (d) tells us of a famous Edifice built by him at *Susa* in the manner of a Castle (which he saith was remaining in his time) and finished with such wonderful Art, that it then seemed as fresh and beautiful, as if it had been newly built. Within this Edifice, he saith, was the place, where the *Persian* and *Parthian* Kings used to be buried, and that for the sake of the founder the keeping of it was committed to one of the *Jewish* Nation even to his time. The Copies of *Josephus*, that are now extant, do indeed place this building in *Ecbatana* in *Media*, but (e) *St. Jerom*, who gives us the same account of it word for word out of *Josephus*, and professeth so to do, pla-

(b) Antiq. lib. 10. c. 12.
lib. 10. c. 12.

(c) Matth. xxiv. 15.

(e) Comment in Dan. viii. 2.

(d) Antiq.

ceth it in *Susa* in *Persia*, which makes it plain, that the Copy of *Josephus*, which he made use of, had it so, and it is most likely to have been the true reading. For *Susa* being within the *Babylonish* Empire, the Scripture tells us that *Daniel* had sometimes his residence (ee) there, and the common Tradition of those parts hath been for many ages past, that (f) *Daniel* died in that City, which is now call *Tuster*, and there they shew his monument even to this day. And it is to be observed, that *Josephus* calls this building *Baris*, which is the same name by which *Daniel* himself calls the Castle or Palace at *Shushan* or *Susa*. For what we translate (g) at *Shushan* in the Palace, is in the Original *Beshushan Habirah*, where no doubt the *Birah* of *Daniel* is the same with the *Baris* of *Josephus*, and both signify this Palace or Castle there built by *Daniel*, while he was Governour of that Province. For (h) there he did the King's business, i. e. was Governour for the King of *Babylon*.

Part of the Book of *Daniel* is originally written in the *Chaldee* language, that is from the fourth verse of the second Chapter to the end of the seventh Chapter. For there the Holy Prophet treating of *Babylonish* affairs, he wrote of them in the *Chaldee* or *Babylonish* language. All the rest is in *Hebrew*. The (i) *Greek* Translation of this Book used by the *Greek* Churches through all the Eastern Countries, was that which was translated by *Theodotion*. In the vulgar *Latin* Edition of the Bible there is added in the third Chapter after the twenty third verse, between that and the twenty fourth verse, the song of the three Children; And at the end of the Book the History of *Susanna* and of *Bel and the Dragon*; And the for-

(ee) For *Susa* is the same which the Scriptures call *Shushan*.

(f) *Benjaminis Itinerarium*. (g) *Dan. viii. 2.* (h) *Dan. viii. 27.*

(i) *Hieronymus* in *Prefatione ad Danielelem* & in *Prooemio ad Comment. in eundem*,

mer is made the 13th, and the other the 14th Chapter of the Book in that Edition; but these additions (k) were never received into the Canon of Holy writ by the Jewish Church, neither are they extant either in the Hebrew, or the Chaldee Language, nor is there any Evidence, that they ever were so. That there are Hebraisms in them can prove no more, than that they were written by an Hebrew in the Greek Tongue, who transferred the Idioms of his own tongue into that which he wrote in, as is usual in this case. And that they were thus originally written in the Greek tongue by some Hellenistical Jew, without having any higher fountain, from whence they are derived, appears from this, that in the History of *Susanna Daniel* in his replies to the Elders (l) alludes to the Greek names of the Trees, under which, they said, the Adultery; which they charged *Susannah* with, was committed, which allusions cannot hold good in any other language. However the Church of *Rome* allows them to be of the same authority with the rest of the Book of *Daniel*, and by their Decree (m) at *Trent* have given them an equal place with it among the Canonical Scriptures. But the Ancients never did so. *Africanus*, *Eusebius*, and *Apollinarius* have rejected those pieces, not only as being uncannical, but also as fabulous, and (n) *Jerom* gives the History of *Bel* and the *Dragon* no better title, than that (o) of The Fables of *Bel* and the *Dragon*. And others, who have been content to admit them for instruction of manners, have yet rejected them from

(k) Hieronymus, *ibid.* (l) In the Examination of the Elders, when one of them said, that he saw the Adultery committed ὑπὸ ῥύρον, i. e. under a mastich Tree, Daniel answers in allusion to ῥύρον, The Angel of God hath received Sentence of God χίσαι σε μέσον, i. e. to cut thee in two. And when the other Elder said it was ὑπὸ πείρον, i. e. under an Holm Tree, Daniel answers in allusion to the word πείρον, The Angel of the Lord waiteth with the sword πέσαι σε μέσον, i. e. to cut thee in two. Vide Hieron. *ibid.* (m) Sessione 4ta. (n) Hieronymus, *ibid.* (o) Peter Comestor doth also so call them, as doth likewise Erasmus in Schol. super Præf. Hieronymi in *Danielem*.

being parts of the Canonical Scripture, whom the Protestant Churches following herein do give them a place in their Bibles among the *Apocryphal* writings, but allow them not to be Canonical.

In the death of *Daniel* the *Jews* having lost a powerful Advocate in the *Persian* Court, this gave their enemies the greater advantage of succeeding in their designs against them. But altho' they prevailed by underhand dealings to divert those Encouragements, which *Cyrus* had ordered for the carrying on of the work, yet they could not put an open stop to it. So that as far as the *Jews* of themselves were able they still carried on the work, in which they were much helped by (p) the *Tyrians*, and the *Zidonians*, not only in furnishing them with Mafons, and other workmen, and artificers, but chiefly in bringing the Cedars, which *Cyrus* had given them, out of the Forest of Mount *Libanus*, from thence to *Joppa* by sea, from which place they were carried by Land to *Jerusalem*. For the *Tyrians* and *Zidonians* being wholly given to Traffic and Navigation, did very little addict themselves to the planting of Oliveyards, or Vineyards, or the Tillage of the ground, neither had they indeed any Territory for either. For their gain being very great by Sea, they did not set themselves to make any enlargements by Land, but were in a manner pent up within the narrow Precincts of the Cities, in which they dwelt, and therefore having very little of Corn, Wine, or Oil of their own, they depended mostly on their Neighbours for these provisions; from whom they had them either for their money or by way of Barter and Exchange for other Commodities, which they supplied them with, and they were mostly furnished this way (q) out of the *Jews* Country, and therefore they readily assisted them with their labour and shipping to be supplied with these necessaries in exchange for it. So that as it was by their help that *Solomon* built the first Temple, so

(p) Ezra iii. 7.

(q) Acts xii. 20.

also was it by their help that the *Jews* were enabled to build the second.

Anno 530.
Cyrus 7.

In the seventh year after the Restoration of the *Jews* (r) died *Cyrus* their great Benefactor, after he had reigned from his first taking on him the Command of the *Persian* and *Median* Armies (s) thirty years; from his taking of *Babylon* (t) nine years; and from his being sole Monarch of the East after the death of *Cyaxares* or *Darius the Median* his uncle (u) seven years, being at the time of his death (u) seventy years old. There are different accounts of the manner of his death. (w) *Herodotus*, (x) *Diodorus Siculus*, and (y) *Justin* tell us, that having invaded the *Scythians* he was there cut off with all his army, consisting of two hundred thousand men. But (z) *Xenophon* makes him die in his bed as fortunately as he lived, amidst his friends, and in his own Country, and this is by much the more probable account of the two. For it is by no means likely, that so wise a man as *Cyrus* was, and so advanced in years as he then was, should engage in so rash an undertaking, as that *Scythian* Expedition is described to be by those who tell us of it. Neither can it be conceived, how after such a blow his new-erected Empire could have been upheld, especially in the hands of such a successor as *Cambyfes* was, or how it could be possible, that he should so soon after it be in a condition to wage such a war, as he did, with the *Egyptians*, and make such an absolute conquest of that Country, as he did. That such a wild-headed man could settle himself so easily in his Father's new-erected Empire, and hold it in such quiet at home, and so soon after his coming to it enlarge it with such conquests abroad, could certainly be owing to nothing else, but that it was founded in the

(r) Cyropedia, lib. 8.

(t) Can. Ptolemæi.

(x) Lib. 2. p. 90.
lib. 8.

(s) Cicero de Divinatione, lib. 1.

(u) Cyropedia, lib. 8.

(y) Lib. 1. c. viii.

(w) Lib. 1.

(z) Cyroped.

highest wisdom, and left to him in the highest tranquillity. Besides, all Authors agree, that *Cyrus* (a) was buried at *Pasargada* in *Persia*, in which Country *Xenophon* saith he died, and his monument there continued to the time of *Alexander*. But if he had been slain in *Scythia*, and his body there mangled by way of indignity to it in such a manner as *Herodotus* and *Justin* do relate, how can we suppose it could ever have been brought thence out of the hands of those enraged Barbarians to be buried at *Pasargada*?

This *Cambyfes*, who succeeded his father *Cyrus*, is (b) in Scripture called *Absuerus*. As soon as he was settled in the Throne, the Enemies of the *Jews* knowing him to be of a Temper fit to be worked upon for the doing of mischief, instead of opposing the *Jews* in their building of the Temple by secret Machinations, and underhand dealings with the Ministers of the Court, and other subordinate Officers, as they had hitherto done, they now openly addressed to the King himself to put a stop to the work. But it seems he had so much respect for the memory of his Father, that he could not be induced publickly to revoke his Decree, however he otherwise defeated in a great measure the design of it by several discouragements which he put upon it, so that the work went but heavily all his reign.

Anno 529.
Cambyfes 1.

Cambyfes had not long been King, ere (c) he resolved upon a war with the *Egyptians*, by reason of some offence taken against *Amasis* their King. *Herodotus* tells us, it was because *Amasis*, when he desired of him one of his daughters to wife, sent him a daughter of *Apries* instead of one of his own. But this could not be true, because *Apries* having been dead above forty years before, no daughter of his could be young enough at

Anno 528.
Cambyfes 2.

(a) Strabo, lib. 15. p. 730. Plutarchus in vita Alexandri, Q. Curtius, Arrianus, aliique. (b) Ezra iv. 6. (c) Herodotus lib. 2. Justin lib. 1. c. 9. Athenæus lib. 13. p. 560.

that time to be acceptable to *Cambyfes*. They speak with more probability, (d) who say, it was *Cyrus*, and not *Cambyfes*, to whom this daughter of *Apries* was sent. Her name they say was *Nitetis*, and for some time she concealed her true Parentage, and was content to go for the daughter of *Amasis*. But at length having had several Children by *Cyrus*, and fully secured herself in his favour and affection, she discovered to him the whole truth of the matter, and excited him all she could to revenge upon *Amasis* her father's wrong; which he intended to have done, as soon as his other affairs would have permitted, but dying before he could execute his intentions, *Cambyfes* (who they say was her son) undertook the quarrel on her account, and made this war upon *Egypt* for no other reason, than to revenge upon *Amasis* the Case of *Apries*. But it is most likely, that whereas *Amasis* had subjected himself to *Cyrus*, and become his Tributary, he did on his death withdraw his Obedience from his Successor, and that this was the true cause of the War. For (e) the carrying on whereof *Cambyfes* made great Preparations both by Sea and Land. For the Sea Service he engaged the *Cypriots* and the *Phœnicians* to help him with their fleets. And for the war by Land besides his other forces he had a great number of *Greeks*, *Ionians*, and *Æolians*, in his Army, who were the main strength of it. But the greatest help he had in this war was from *Phanes*, an *Halicarnassæan*, who being a commander of some of the *Grecian* auxiliaries, that were in the service of *Amasis*, on some disgust given him revolted to *Cambyfes*, and made those discoveries to him of the nature of the Country, the strength of the Enemy, and the then state of their affairs, as chiefly conduced to the making of that Expedition successful. And it was by his advice, that *Cambyfes* contracted with the *Arabian* King, that lay next the

(d) Polyænus Stratagem. lib. 8. Et Ægyptii apud Herodotum lib. 3. in initio. Athenæus, ibid. (e) Herodotus lib. 3.

borders of *Palestine* and *Egypt*, to supply him with water, while he passed the Desarts that lay between these two Countries, where accordingly it was brought him on Camels backs, without which he could never have marched his army that way.' Being therefore thus prepared he invaded *Egypt* in the fourth year of his Reign. On his arrival on the borders he found *Amasis* was newly dead, and that *Psammenitus* his son being made King in his stead was drawing together a great Army to oppose him. To make his passage open into the Country it was necessary for him to take *Pelusium*, which was as the Key of *Egypt* on that side. But that being a strong place, it was like to give him much trouble. For the preventing hereof, by the Counsel, it's supposed, of *Phanes*, he had recourse to this Stratagem. (f) Finding that the Garrison were all *Egyptians*, in an assault, which he made upon the City, he placed a great number of Cats, Dogs, Sheep, and other of those Animals, which the *Egyptians* reckoned sacred, in the front of the Army; and therefore the Soldiers not daring to throw a dart, or shoot an arrow that way, for fear of killing some of those animals, *Cambyfes* made himself master of the place without any opposition. For these being the Gods, which the *Egyptians* then adored, (g) it was reckoned the highest impiety to kill any of them, and when they died of themselves, they buried them with the greatest solemnity. By the time that *Cambyfes* had taken this place, (h) *Psammenitus* came up with his Army to oppose his farther progress, whereon ensued a bloody Battel between them. At the beginning of it the *Greeks*, that were in *Psammenitus's* Army, to be revenged on *Phanes* for his Revolt to the Enemy, brought forth his Children (whom he was forced to leave behind him on his flight) and slew them in the front of the battle in the sight of both armies,

Anno 526.
Cambyfes 4.

(f) Polyænus lib. 7. (g) Herodotus lib. 2. Diodorus Siculus lib. 1. p. 52. (h) Herodotus lib. 3.

and drunk their blood. But this served them not in any stead for the victory. For the *Persians* being exasperated by a spectacle of so horrid a nature fell on with such fury and rage to revenge it, that they soon vanquished and overthrew the whole *Egyptian* Army, and cut the greatest part of them in pieces. The remainder fled to *Memphis*, where *Cambyfes* pursuing them, on his arrival thither sent into the City by the *Nile*, on which it stood, a ship of *Mitylene* with an Herald to summon them to a surrender, but the people rising on him in their rage slew the Herald, and tore him and all that were with him to pieces. But *Cambyfes* after a short siege having taken the place sufficiently revenged their Death, causing ten *Egyptians* of the first rank to be publickly executed for every one of those that were thus slain, and the eldest son of *Psammenitus* was one of the number. As to *Psammenitus* himself, *Cambyfes* was inclined to have dealt kindly with him. For at first he gave him his life, and allowed him wherewith honourably to live, but he not being contented herewith endeavoured to raise new Troubles for the recovery of his Crown, whereon he was forced to drink Bulls blood, and so ended his life. His reign was only six months. For so much time only intervened from the death of his Father to the taking of *Memphis*, when he fell into the hands of the Enemy, and all his power ceased. For hereon all *Egypt* submitted to *Cambyfes*. This hapned in the fifth year of his reign, and

Anno 725.
Cambyfes 5. he reigned three years after. The *Libyans*, *Cyrenians*, and *Barceans* hearing of this Success sent Ambassadors with presents to make their Submission to him. From *Memphis* he went to *Sais*, where the *Egyptian* Kings for several Descents past had kept their usual residence, and there entring into the Palace caused the body of *Amasis* to be dug up out of his grave, and after all manner of Indignities had been offered thereto in his presence, he ordered it to be cast into the fire and burnt. Which rage against the Carcase, sheweth the anger which he had against

against the man, and whatsoever it was that provoked it, this seems to be the cause, that brought him into *Egypt*.

The next year, which was the sixth of his Reign, he designed three Expeditions, Anno 524.
Cambyfes 6. the first against the *Carthaginians*, the second against the *Hammonians*, and the third against the *Ethiopians*. But the *Phenicians* refusing to assist him against the *Carthaginians*, who were descended from them, (they being a Colony of the *Tyrians*) and not being able to carry on that war without them, he was forced to drop this project. But his heart being intent upon the other two he sent Ambassadors into *Ethiopia*, who under that name were to serve him as Spies to learn and bring him an account of the state and strength of the Country. But the *Ethiopians* being apprised of the end of their coming treated them with great contempt. And the *Ethiopian* King, in return for the present they brought him from *Cambyfes*, sent him back only his bow, advising him then to make war upon the *Ethiopians*, when the *Persians* could as easily draw that bow, as they could, and in the mean time to thank the Gods, that they never inspired the *Ethiopians* with a desire of extending their Dominions beyond the limits of their own Country. With which answer *Cambyfes* being exceedingly exasperated, immediately on the receipt of it in a mad irrational humour commanded his Army forthwith to march (without considering, that they were furnished neither with provisions, nor any other necessaries for such an Expedition) leaving only the *Grecian* Auxiliaries behind to keep the Country in awe during his absence. On his coming to *Thebes* in the upper *Egypt* he detached from his army fifty thousand men to go against the *Hammonians*, with orders to destroy their Country, and burn the Temple of *Jupiter Hammon*, that stood in it. But after several days march over the Desarts a strong and impetuous wind beginning to blow from the South, at the time of their Dinner raised the Sands to such a degree, and

brought them in such a Torrent upon them, that the whole army was overwhelmed thereby, and perished. In the interim *Cambyfes* madly marched on with the rest of the Army against the *Ethiopians*, tho' he wanted all manner of provisions for their subsistence, till at length they having eaten up all their beasts of burden, they came to feed upon each other, setting out every tenth man by Lot for this purpose. By this *Cambyfes* being convinced, that it was time for him to return, marched back his Army to *Thebes*, after having lost a great part of it in this wild Expedition, and from thence returned to *Memphis*; when he came thither, he dismissed all the *Greeks* to their respective homes, but on his entry into the City finding it all in mirth and jollity, because their God *Apis* had then appeared among them, he fell into a great rage, supposing all this rejoicing to have been for the ill success of his affairs. And when he called the Magistrates, and they gave him a true account of the matter, he would not believe them, but caused them to be put to death, as imposing a lye upon him. And then he sent for the Priests, who made him the same answer, telling him that their God having manifested himself unto them (which seldom hapned) it was always their custom to celebrate his appearance with the greatest demonstrations of joy, that they could express. To this he replied, that if their God was so kind and familiar, as to appear among them, he would be acquainted with him, and therefore commanded them forthwith to bring him unto him.

The chief God of the *Egyptians* was (i) *Osiris*, him they worshipped in the shape of a *Bull*, and that not only in imagery, but also in reality. For they kept a Bull in the Temple of *Osiris*, which they worshipped in his stead. At *Heliopolis* he was called *Mnevis*, at *Memphis* *Apis*. The Marks of *Apis* (k) were these. His body was to be all black, except-

(i) Herodotus lib. 2. Diodor. Sic. lib. 1. (k) Herodotus lib. 3. Plin. lib. 8. c. 46. Solinus cap. 35. Amminanus Marcellinus c. 22.

ing a square spot of white on his forehead. He was also to have the figure of an Eagle, say some, of an half Moon, say others, on his back, a double list of Hair on his Tail, and a Scarabæus or Knot under his Tongue. When they had found such an one, they brought him with great rejoicing to the Temple of *Osiris*, and there kept him, and worshipped him for that God, as long as he lived, and when he was dead, they buried him with great solemnity, and then sought for another with the same marks, which sometimes it was many years ere they could find, and such an one they having found on *Cambyfes's* return to *Memphis* from his *Ethiopic* Expedition, this was the reason of their great rejoicing at that time. And in imitation of this Idolatry was it, that *Aaron* made the Golden Calf in the Wilderness, and *Jeroboam* those in *Dan* and *Bethel*, and did set them up there to be worshipped by the Children of *Israel*, as the Gods that had brought them out of the Land of *Egypt*.

This *Apis* being brought to *Cambyfes*, he fell into a rage, as well he might, at the sight of such a god, and drawing out his dagger run it into the thigh of the Beast; and then reproaching the Priests for their stupidity, and wretchedness, in worshipping a Brute for a God, ordered them severely to be whip'd, and all the *Egyptians* in *Memphis* to be slain, that should be found any more rejoicing there on this occasion. The *Apis* being carried back to the Temple there languished of his wound, and died.

The *Egyptians* say, that after this Act (which they reckon to have been the highest instance of impiety, that was ever found among them) *Cambyfes* was stricken with madness. But his Actions shewed him to have been mad long before, of which he continued to give divers instances. They tell us of these following.

He had a Brother, the only Son of *Cyrus* besides himself, and born of the same Mother, his name according to *Xenophon* was *Tanaxares*, but *Herodotus* calls

calls him *Smerdis*, and *Justin Mergis*. He accompanied *Cambyfes* in his *Egyptian Expedition*, but being the only person among all the *Persians*, that could draw the Bow, which *Cambyfes's* Ambassadors brought him back from the *Ethiopian King*, *Cambyfes* from hence contracted such an envy against him, that he could no longer bear him in the Army, but sent him back into *Persia*. And not long after dreaming, that one came, and told him, that *Smerdis* sat on the Throne, he thereon suspecting of his Brother, what was afterwards fulfilled by another of his name, sent after him into *Persia* *Prexaspes*, one of his chiefest confidants, with orders to put him to death, which he accordingly executed. And when one of his sisters, who was with him in the Camp, on the hearing of it lamented his death, he gave her such a blow with his foot in the belly, that she died of it. She was the youngest of his Sisters, and being a very beautiful woman, he fell violently in love with her, so that nothing could satisfy him, but that he must have her to wife; whereon he called together all the Royal Judges of the *Persian Nation*, to whom the interpretation of their Laws did belong, to know of them whether they had any Law that would allow it. They being unwilling to authorize such an incestuous marriage, and at the same time fearing his violent Temper, should they contradict him herein, they gave him this crafty answer: That they had no Law indeed that permitted a Brother to marry his Sister, but they had a Law, which allowed the King of *Persia* to do what he pleased. Which serving his purpose as well as a direct approbation of the thing, he solemnly married her, and hereby gave the first Example to that incest, which was afterwards practised by most of his Successors, and by some of them carried so far, as to marry their own Daughters. This Lady he carried with him in all his Expeditions, and her name being *Meroe*, he from her gave (1) that name to the Island

(1) Strabo lib. 17. p. 790. Josephus Antiq. lib. 2. c. 10.

in the *Nile* between *Egypt* and *Ethiopia* on the Conquering of it, which in all our Maps of the old Geography it still bears (for so far he advanced in his wild march against the *Ethiopians*.) And she being with child by him, when he struck her, the blow caused an Abortion, and of this she died. And so vile a marriage deserved no better an end. He caused also several of the Principal of his followers to be buried alive without any cause deserving of it, and daily sacrificed some or other of them to his wild fury. And when *Cræsus* advised him against these proceedings, and laid before him the ill consequences which they would lead to, he ordered him to be put to death. And when those, who received his orders, knowing he would repent of it the next day, did therefore defer the Execution, he caused them all to be executed for it, because they had not obey'd his commands, altho' at the same time he expressed great joy, that *Cræsus* was alive. And out of a mere humour only to show his skill in Archery he shot to death a son of *Prexaspes*, who was the chief of his favourites; and in such wild actions he wore out the seventh year of his Reign.

In the beginning of the 8th year he left *Egypt*, and returned towards *Persia*. On his coming into *Syria* he there met with an Herald, who being sent from *Shushan* came into the Army, and there proclaimed *Smerdis* the son of *Cyrus* King, and commanded all men to obey him. The meaning of this was, *Cambyfes*, when he departed from *Shushan* on the *Egyptian* Expedition, placed there in the supreme Government of his affairs during his absence *Patizithes*, one of the Chief of the Magians. This *Patizithes* had a Brother, who did very much resemble *Smerdis* the Son of *Cyrus*, and was (for that reason perchance) called by the same name. As soon as he had been fully informed of the death of that Prince (which had been concealed from most others) and found that the Extravagancies of *Cambyfes* were grown to an height no longer to be born, he

Anno 512.
Cambyfes 8.

he placed this brother of his on the Throne, giving out that he was the true *Smerdis* the Son of *Cyrus*, and forthwith sent out Heralds into all parts of the Empire to give notice hereof, and command obedience to be paid unto him. *Cambyfes* having seized him that came with this Message to the Army, on the examining of him, and on the examining of *Prexaspes*, whom he had sent to kill his Brother, found, that the true *Smerdis* was certainly dead, and that this was none other, than *Smerdis* the Magian, who had invaded the Throne; whereon much lamenting, that he had been led by the Identity of the name to murder his Brother, he gave orders for his Army forthwith to set forward to suppress the Ufurper; but as he mounted his Horse for the march his Sword falling out of the Scabbard gave him a wound in the thigh, of which he died a few days after. The *Egyptians* remarking, that it was in the same part of the body, where he had afore wounded the *Apis*, reckoned it as an especial Judgment from Heaven upon him for that fact, and perchance they were not much out in it. For it seldom hapning in an affront given to any particular mode of worship, how erroneous soever it may be, but that Religion is in general wounded hereby, there are many instances in History, wherein God hath very signally punished the prophanations of Religion in the worst of times, and under the worst Modes of Heathen Idolatry. While he was in *Egypt*, having consulted the Oracle of *Butus* in that Country he was told, that he should die at *Ecbatana*, which understanding of *Ecbatana* in *Media*, he resolved to preserve his life by never going thither, but what he thought to avoid in *Media* he found in *Syria*. For the Town, where he lay sick of this wound, was of the same name, being also called *Ecbatana*, (ll) of which when he was informed, taking

(ll) There are many instances of such, who on their over-curious inquiry into their future fate have been in the same manner deceived. Thus Henry the

taking it for certain that he must there die, he called for all the chief of the *Persians* together, and acquainting them with the true state of the Case, that his Brother was certainly dead, and that it was *Smerdis* the Magian that then reigned, earnestly exhorted them not to submit to the Cheat, and thereby permit the Sovereignty to pass from the *Persians* again to the *Medes*, of which Nation the Magian was, but to take care to set up a King over them of their own people. But the *Persians*, thinking all this was said by him out of hatred to his Brother, had no regard to it, but on his death quietly submitted to him whom they found on the Throne, supposing him to be the true *Smerdis*. And it being the usage of the Eastern Kings in those times to live retired in their Palaces, and there transact all their affairs by the intercourse of their Eunuchs without admitting any else, unless those of their highest confidence, to have access to them, the Magian exactly observed this conduct, and therefore being never seen in publick, this made it the harder for them to discover the Cheat.

Cambyfes reigned (m) seven years and five months, the remaining seven months of the 8th year was the reign of the Magian. *Herodotus* calls him *Smerdis* (as hath been already said) *Æschylus Mardus*, *Ctesias Spendadates*, and *Justin Orapastes*, but in the Scripture he is called (n) *Artaxerxes*. As soon as he was settled in the Kingdom after the death of *Cambyfes*, the *Samaritans* (o) wrote a letter to him, setting forth, that the

the 4th of England being foretold, that he should die at Jerusalem, was suddenly taken sick in the Abbot of Westminster's House, and died there in Jerusalem Chamber. And so Ferdinand the Catholic, King of Spain, being foretold that he should die at Madrigal, carefully avoided going thither. But while he was thus, as he thought, avoiding his death, he found it at Madrigalejo, or little Madrigal, a poor little village he had never before heard of. For as he was accidentally passing through it he was suddenly taken ill, and being carried into a poor Cottage, the best reception the place could afford him, he died there in an hole scarce large enough to receive his Bed.

(m) *Herodotus* lib. 3.

(n) *Ezra* iv. 7.

(o) *Ezra* iv.

Jews were rebuilding their City and Temple at *Jerusalem*, that they having been always a *Rebellious People*, there was reason to suspect that as soon as they should have finished that work they would withdraw their obedience from the King, and pay no more Toll nor Tribute, which might give an occasion for all *Syria* and *Palestine* to revolt also, and the King be excluded from having any more portion on that side the River *Euphrates*. And for the truth of what they had informed him of as to the *Rebellious* temper of that people, they referred him to the Records of his Predecessors, wherein they desired search might be made concerning this matter. On the receipt of this letter examination being made according to the purport of it into the Records of former times concerning the behaviour of the *Jews* under the *Assyrian* and *Babylonish* Empires, and it being found in them, with what valour they had long defended themselves, and with what difficulty they were at length reduced by *Nebuchadnezzar*, an order was issued forth to prohibit them from proceeding any farther, and sent to the *Samaritans* to see it put in Execution, who immediately on the receipt hereof went up to *Jerusalem*, and having exhibited their order to the *Jews* made them desist by force and power from going on any farther with the work of the House, so it wholly ceased till the second year of *Darius* King of *Persia*, for about the space of two years. The King that now reigned having been a chief leader of the sect of the *Magians*, against whom the *Jews* were in the utmost opposition in point of Religion, the aversion he had to them on this account no doubt furthered this Decree against them.

That *Cambyfes* was the *Abasuerus*, and *Smerdis* the *Artaxerxes*, that obstructed the work of the Temple, is plain from hence, that they are said (oo) in Scripture to be the Kings of *Persia*, that reigned between the time of *Cyrus*, and the time of that *Darius* by whose

(oo) Ezra iv. 5, 6, 7.

Decree the Temple was finished; but that *Darius* being *Darius Hystaspis* (as will be unanswerably demonstrated in its proper place) and none reigning between *Cyrus* and that *Darius* in *Persia*, but *Cambyfes* and *Smerdis*, it must follow from hence, that none but *Cambyfes* and *Smerdis* could be the *Abasuerus* and *Artaxerxes*, who are said in *Ezra* to have put a stop to this work.

But tho' *Smerdis* was thus unkind to the *Jews*, (p) he studied to shew grace and favour to all others, that so gaining their affections he might the better secure himself in the possession of the Throne, which he had usurped. And therefore as soon as he had taken on him the Sovereignty, he granted to all his subjects a freedom from Taxes, and an immunity from all military services for three years, and also did so many other things for their benefit, as made his death to be very much lamented by a great many of them on the Change that after followed. And farther to secure himself he took to wife *Atossa* the daughter of *Cyrus*, aiming thereby to hold the Empire by her Title, if in case of a Discovery he could not be allowed to have any of his own. She had before been the wife of *Cambyfes*. For after he had upon the Decision abovementioned married one of his Sisters, he took this other to wife also. And the Magian while he pretended to be her Brother married her on the same foot.

But these steps, which he took for his Security, made it the more suspected, that he was not the true *Smerdis*. For if he were, there would have been no need (it was said) of using all these arts and precautions for his establishment in the Empire. And the care which he took never to be seen in publick augmented the suspicion. To be fully satisfied in this matter, *Otanes* a noble *Persian*, Brother of *Cassandana* (who is said by *Herodotus* to have been Mother to *Cambyfes*, and the true *Smerdis* his Brother) having a

(p) *Herodotus* lib. 3.

daughter named *Phedyma*, that had been one of *Cambyses's* wives, and was now kept by the Magian in the same quality, sent to her to know, whether it were *Smerdis* the son of *Cyrus* that she lay with, or else some other man. The answer, which she returned, was, that she having never seen *Smerdis* the Son of *Cyrus*, she could not tell. He then by a second Message bid her enquire of *Atossa* (who could not but know her own brother) whether this were he or no: Whereon she having informed him, that the present King kept all his wives apart, so that they never conversed with each other, and that therefore she could not come at *Atossa* to ask this question of her, he sent her a third Message, whereby he directed her, that when he should next lie with her, she should take the opportunity, while he slept, to feel, whether he had any Ears or no. For *Cyrus* having caused the Ears of *Smerdis the Magian* to be cut off for some crime that deserved it, he told her, that if the person she lay with had Ears, she might satisfy herself, that he was *Smerdis* the Son of *Cyrus*, but that if she found it was otherwise, he was certainly *Smerdis the Magian*, and therefore unworthy of possessing either the Crown or her. *Phedyma* having received these instructions, took the next opportunity of making the tryal, she was directed to, and finding hereon, that the person she lay with had no Ears, she sent word to her Father of it, and hereby the whole fraud became detected. Whereon *Otanes* taking to him six other of the Nobility of the *Persians* entered into the Palace, and there falling on the Usurper and his Brother *Patizithes*, who had been the contriver of the whole plot, slew them both, and then bringing out their heads to the people declared unto them the whole Imposture. Which did set them into such a rage, that they fell on the whole sect, which the Impostor was of, and slew all of them, that they met with that day. For which reason the said day on which this was done thenceforth became an Annual Festival among them, and for a long while after it was

was celebrated every year by the *Persians* in Commemoration of the discovery of this Imposture, and their deliverance from it. And by reason of the great Slaughter of the Magians then made, it was called *Magophonia*, or the Slaughter-day of the Magians. And it was from this time that they first had the name of *Magians*, which signifying the Cropt-ear'd, it was then given unto them by way of nick-name and contempt, because of this Impostor, who was thus crop'd. For *Mige-Gush* signified in the language of the Country then in use, one that had his Ears crop'd, and (q) from a Ring-leader of that sect, who was thus crop'd, the Author of the famous Arabic Lexicon called *Camus* tells us, they had all this name given unto them. And what *Herodotus*, and *Justin*, and other Authors write of this *Smerdis* plainly shews, that he was the man. After this the whole sect of the Magians grew into that contempt, that they would soon have sunk into an utter extinction, but that a few years after it was under the name of a Reformation again revived by *Zoroastres*, of which an account will be hereafter given in its proper place.

In the interim it may be proper to acquaint the Reader, that at this time all the Idolatry of the world was divided between two Sects, (r) that is the worshippers of images, who were called the *Sabians*, and the worshippers of fire, who were called the *Magians*. The true Religion, which *Noah* taught his posterity, was that which *Abraham* practis'd, the worshipping of one God, the Supreme Governour and Creator of all things, with hopes in his Mercy through a Mediator. For the necessity of a Mediator between God and Man was a general Notion, which obtained among all mankind from the beginning. For being conscious of their own meanness, vileness and impu-

(q) Pocockii Specimen Historiæ Arabicæ, p. 146. (r) Vide Pocockii Specimen Historiæ Arabicæ p. 138. Golii notas ad Alfraganum, p. 251. Maimonidem in Moreh Nevochim. Hottingeri Historiam Orientalem, lib. 4. c. 8. Historiam Religionis veterum Persarum per Thomam Hyde.

rity, they could not conceive, how it was possible for them of themselves alone to have any access to the all-holy, all-glorious, and supreme Governour of all things. They considered him as too high, and too pure; and themselves too low, and polluted, for such a Converse. And therefore concluded, that there must be a Mediator, by whose means only they could make any address unto him, and by whose intercession alone any of their petitions could be accepted of. But no clear Revelation being then made of the Mediator whom God had appointed, because as yet he had not been manifested unto the world, they took upon them to address unto him by Mediators of their own chusing. And their Notion of the Sun, Moon, and Stars, being, that they were the Tabernacles, or Habitations, of Intelligences, which animated those Orbs, in the same manner as the Soul of man animates his body, and were the causes of all their motions, and that these Intelligences were of a middle nature between God and them, they thought these the properest Beings to become the Mediators between God and them. And therefore the Planets being the nearest to them of all these Heavenly bodies, and generally looked on to have the greatest influence on this world, they made choice of them in the first place for their Gods-Mediators, who were to mediate for them with the supreme God, and procure from him the mercies and favours which they prayed for, and accordingly they directed divine worship unto them as such. And here began all the Idolatry, that hath been practis'd in the World. They first worshipped them *per Sacella*, that is by *their Tabernacles*, and afterwards by Images also. By these *Sacella*, or *Tabernacles*, they meant the Orbs themselves, which they looked on only as the *Sacella* or *Sacred Tabernacles*, in which the Intelligences had their Habitations. And therefore when they paid their devotions to any one of them, they directed their worship towards the Planet, in which they supposed he dwelt. But these Orbs by their rising and setting, being as much under the Horison, as above, they

they were at a loss, how to address to them in their absence. To remedy this they had recourse to the invention of Images, in which after their Consecration they thought these Intelligences, or inferior Deities, to be as much present by their influence, as in the Planets themselves, and that all addresses to them were made as effectually before the one, as before the other. And this was the beginning of Image worship among them. To these Images were given the names of the Planets they represented, which were the same they are still called by. And hence it is, that we find *Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, Apollo, Mercury, Venus, and Diana* to be first ranked in the Polytheism of the Ancients. For they were their first Gods. After this a Notion obtaining, that good Men departed had a power with God also to mediate and intercede for them, they deified many of those, whom they thought to be such, and hence the number of their Gods encreased in the Idolatrous times of the world. This Religion first began among the *Chaldeans*, which their Knowledge in Astronomy helped to lead them to. And from this it was, that *Abraham* separated himself, when he came out of *Chaldea*. From the *Chaldeans* it spread it self over all the East, where the Professors of it had the name of *Sabians*. From them it passed into *Egypt*, and from thence to the *Grecians*, who propagated it to all the Western Nations of the World. And therefore those, who mislike the Notion advanced by *Maimonides*, (s) that many of the *Jewish* Laws were made in opposition to the Idolatrous Rites of the *Sabians*, are much mistaken, when they object against it, that the *Sabians* were an inconsiderable Sect, and therefore not likely to have been so far regarded in that matter. They are now indeed, since the Growth of Christianity and Mahometism in the world, reduced to an inconsiderable Sect; but anciently they were all the Nations of the world, that worshipped God by Images. And

(s) In Moreh Nevochim.

that *Maimonides* understood the name in this latitude, is plain from hence, that he tells us, The *Sabians*, whom he spoke of, were a Sect, (t) whose Heresy had overspread almost all mankind. The remainder of this Sect still subsists in the East under the same name of *Sabians*, which they pretend to have received from *Sabius* a son of *Seth*. And among the Books, wherein the Doctrines of their Sect are contained, they have one, which they call the Book of *Seth*, and say, that it was written by that Patriarch. That which hath given them the greatest credit among the People of the East is, that the best of their Astronomers have been of this Sect, as *Thebet Ebn Korrah*, *Albattani*, and others. For the Stars being the Gods they worshipped, they made them the chief subject of their Studies. These *Sabians* in the consecrating of their Images used many incantations to draw down into them from the Stars those Intelligences, for whom they erected them, whose power and influence, they held, did afterward dwell in them. And from hence the whole foolery of *Telefms*, which some make so much ado about, had its Original.

Directly opposite to these were the *Magians*, another Sect, who had their Original in the same Eastern Countries. For (u) they abominating all Images worshipped God only by fire. They began first in *Persia*, and there, and in *India*, were the only places where this Sect was propagated, and there they remain even to this day. Their chief Doctrin was, that there (uu) were two Principles, One of which was the Cause of all Good, and the Other the Cause of all Evil, that is to say God and the Devil. That the former is represented by Light, and the other by Darkness, as their truest Symbols, and that of the

(t) Moreh Nevachim, Part 1. c. 63. (u) Vide Pocockii Specimen Historiæ Arabicæ, p. 146, 147, &c. & Historiam Religionis veterum Persarum per Th. Hyde.

(uu) This Opinion Manes the Heretic received from them, and would have introduced it into the Christian Religion, it being the principal point, which those of his Heresy, called from him Manichees, endeavoured to impose upon the World.

Composition of these two all things in the world are made. The good God they name *Yazdan*, and also *Ormuzd*, and the evil God *Abraman*. The former is by the *Greeks* called *Oramasdes*, and the latter *Arimanius*. And therefore when *Xerxes* prayed for that evil upon his Enemies, that it might be put into the minds of all of them to drive their best and bravest men from them, as the *Athenians* had *Themistocles*, (v) he addressed his Prayer to *Arimanius* the evil God of the *Persians*, and not to *Oramasdes* their good God. And concerning these two Gods there was this difference of opinion among them, that whereas some held both of them to have been from all eternity, there were others, that contended, that the good God only was eternal, and that the other was Created. But they both agreed in this, that there will be a continual opposition between these two, till the end of the world. That then the Good God shall overcome the Evil God, and that from thenceforward each of them shall have his world to himself, that is the Good God his world with all Good men with him, and the Evil God his world with all Evil men with him. That Darkness is the truest Symbol of the Evil God, and Light the truest Symbol of the Good God. And therefore they always worshipped him before fire, as being the cause of Light, and especially before the Sun, as being in their Opinion the perfectest fire, and causing the perfectest Light. And for this reason in all their Temples they had fire continually burning on Altars, erected in them for that purpose. And before these sacred fires they offered up all their publick devotions, as likewise they did all their private devotions before their private fires in their own Houses. Thus did they pay the highest honour to Light, as being in their opinion the truest representative of the Good God, but always hated Darkness, as being what they thought the truest representative of the Evil God, whom they ever had in

(v) Plutarchus in Themistocle.

the utmost detestation, as we now have the Devil; and for an instance hereof, whenever they had an occasion in any of their writings to mention his name, they always wrote it backward, and inversed, as thus *uovuvuogv*. And these were the Tenets of this Sect, when on the death of *Cambyfes*, *Smerdis* and *Patizithes*, the two chiefest Ringleaders of it, made that attempt for the usurping of the Sovereignty, which I have mentioned.

The (w) seven Princes, who had slain these Usurpers, entering into Consultation among
Anno 521. themselves about the settling of the Govern-
Darius 1. ment, on the sixth day after came to this agreement: That the Monarchy should be continued in the same manner as it had been established by *Cyrus*, and that for the determining which of them should be the Monarch, they should meet on Horseback the next morning against the rising of the Sun at a place in the Suburbs of the City, which they had appointed for it, and that he whose Horse should first neigh should be the King. For the Sun being then the great Deity of the *Persians*, and equally adored by them all, whether of the *Sabian* or *Magian* Sect, by this method they seemed to refer the Election to it. But the Groom of *Darius*, one of the seven Princes, being informed of what was agreed on, made use of a device, which secured the Crown to his Master. For the night before having tyed a Mare to the place where they were the next Morning to meet, he brought *Darius's* Horse thither, and put him to cover the Mare. And therefore as soon as the Princes came thither at the time appointed, *Darius's* Horse at the sight of the place remembring the Mare ran thither and neighed, whereon he was forthwith saluted King by the rest, and accordingly placed on the Throne. He was the son of *Hystaspes*, a Noble *Persian* of the Royal Family of *Achæmenes*, who had followed *Cyrus* in all his wars. He was at that

(w) Herodot. lib. 3. Justin. lib. 1. c. 10.

time Governour of the Province of *Persia*, and so continued for many years after his son's advancement to the Throne. This *Darius* in the writings of the latter *Persians* is called *Gushtasph* and his father *Lorasph*, and under these names they are much spoken of in that Country even to this day.

The Empire of *Persia* being thus restored, and settled by the wisdom and valour of these seven Princes, they were afterwards admitted to extraordinary honours and privileges under the new King. For they were to have access to his presence at all times, whenever they should desire, unless only when he was accompanying with any of his Wives, and their advice was to be first had in the management of all the publick affairs of the Empire. And whereas the King only wore his Turbant directly upright, and all others 'till then with its top reversed, or turned backward, these had it by way of special privilege granted unto them from thenceforth to wear their Turbants with the top turned forward. For they having, when they went in to fall upon the *Magians*, turned the back part of their Turbants forward, that they might by that signal be the better known to each other in the scuffle, in memory of this, as an especial mark of honour, they were permitted to wear their Turbants in that manner ever afterward. And from this time the *Persian* Kings of this Race had always seven chief Counsellors in the same manner privileged, who were their prime assistants in the Government, and by whose advice all the publick affairs of the Empire were transacted, and under this Character we find them both in (x) the Book of *Ezra* and in (y) the Book of *Esther* made mention of.

As soon as *Darius* was settled in the Throne, (z) to establish him the firmer in it, he took to wife *Atossa* the daughter of *Cyrus*, and also another daughter of his called *Artistona*. The former had been be-

(x) Chap. vii. 14.

(y) Chap. i. 14.

(z) Herodotus lib. 3.

fore wife to *Cambyſes* her Brother, and afterwards to *Smerdis the Magian*, while he uſurped the Throne. But *Artiſtona* was a Virgin, when he married her, and was the moſt beloved by him of all his wives. Beſides theſe he took alſo to wife *Parmys*, the daughter of the true *Smerdis*, Brother of *Cambyſes*, and *Phedyma* the daughter of *Otanes*, by whole means the Impoſture of the Magian was diſcovered, and by theſe had a great many children, both ſons and daughters.

Although by the death of the Uſurper, his Ediſt, which prohibited the building of the Temple, was now at an end, yet the *Jews* neglecting to reſume the work (a) God did for this reaſon ſmite the Land with barrenneſs, ſo that both the Vintage and Harveſt failed them. But in the ſecond year of *Darius* they being by the Prophet *Haggai* informed of the Cauſe of this Judgment upon them, and exhorted to the doing of their duty for the averting of it, they betook themſelves again to prepare for the carrying on of the work. It was on (b) the firſt Day of the ſixth Month (which answers to about the middle of our *Auguſt*) that the word of the Lord by *Haggai* the Prophet came to *Zerubbabel* the ſon of *Salathiel* Governor of *Judea*, and to *Jeſhua* the ſon of *Jozadak* the High-Prieſt concerning this matter. And (c) on the 24th day of the ſame Month they being excited hereby aroſe with all the remnant of the people, and obeyed the voice of the Lord, and again applied themſelves with all diligence to provide Stone and Timber, and all other materials, that were neceſſary for the again carrying on of the work. And to encourage them to go on vigorously herewith, on the 21ſt day of the ſeventh month (i. e. about the beginning of our *October*) (d) another meſſage from God came to them by the ſame Prophet, which not only aſſured them of his pre-

(a) Haggai i. 6, 8, 9, 10, 11. ii. 17, 19.
(c) Haggai i. 15.

(d) Haggai ii. 1.

(b) Haggai i. 1.

sence with them herein to make it prosper in their hands, but also promised them, that (e) the Glory of the latter House, when built, should be greater than the glory of the former House; which was accordingly accomplished, when *Christ* our Lord came to this his Temple, and honoured it with his presence. In all other respects this latter Temple, the (f) same Prophet tells us, at its first building was as nothing in comparison of the former.

In the (g) eighth month of the same year (which answers to part of our *October* and part of *November*) the word of the Lord came by *Zechariah* the Prophet to the people of the *Jews*, exhorting them to repentance, and promising them mercy and favour on their obedience hereto.

On the (h) twenty fourth day of the ninth month (which fell about the beginning of our *December*) the *Jews*, after they had been imployed from the twenty fourth day of the sixth month in preparing materials for the Temple, went on again with the building of it, (i) whereon the Prophet *Haggai* promised them from God a deliverance from that barrenness of their Land, with which it had been smitten, and plentiful Encrease of all its Fruits for the future. And also (k) delivered unto *Zerubbabel* a Message from God of Mercy, and Favour unto him.

In the beginning of the next year (which was the third year of *Darius* according to the (l) *Babylonian* and *Persian* account, but

Anno 519.
Darius 3.

(e) Haggai ii. 9.

(f) Haggai ii. 3.

(g) Zechariah i. 1.

(h) Haggai ii. 18.

(i) Haggai ii. 10—19.

(k) Haggai ii.

20 — 23.

(l) For the Babylonians and Persians at this time began their year from the beginning of January; But the Jews from Nisan, about 10 or 11 weeks after. And therefore seeing the eighth Month (which answers in part to our *October*) was according to *Zechariah* (c. i. v. 1.) in the second year of *Darius*, whatsoever was acted from the beginning of January within a year after must be in the third year of *Darius* according to the Babylonish account, and also according to the exact truth of the matter. For *Darius* began his Reign with the beginning of the Babylonish year.

the second according to the *Jewish*) the *Samaritans* understanding, that the building of the Temple went on again, notwithstanding the stop which they had procured to be put to it in the last reign, they (*m*) betook themselves again to their old malicious practices for the obstructing of the work, and therefore applied themselves to *Tatnai*, whom *Darius* had made chief Governor or Prefect of all the Provinces of *Syria* and *Palestine* (which was (*n*) one of the twenty Prefectures, into which he had lately divided his whole Empire) and made complaint to him against the *Jews* as to this matter, suggesting that they proceeded herein without authority, and that it would tend to the prejudice of the King. Whereon *Tatnai* being accompanied by *Setharboznai* (who seems to have been then Governour of *Samaria*) came to *Jerusalem* to take an account of what was there a doing. But *Tatnai* being a man of temper and justice, after he had made a view of the building, did not proceed roughly and rashly to put a stop to it, but first enquired of the Elders of the *Jews*, by what authority they had gone on with it. And they having produc'd to him *Cyrus's* Decree, he would not take upon him to contradict the same, or order any thing contrary to it upon his own Authority, but first wrote letters to the King to know his pleasure concerning it, wherein he fairly stated the case, setting forth the matter of fact, and also the *Jews* plea of *Cyrus's* Decree for the justifying of themselves herein, and thereon requested, that search might be made among the Records of the Kingdom, whether there were any such Decree granted by *Cyrus*, or no, and that thereon the King would be pleased to signify unto him, what he would have done herein. Whereon (*o*) search being made, and the Decree being found among the Rolls in the Royal Palace at *Ecbatana* in *Media*, where *Cyrus* was when he granted it, the King resolv'd to confirm the same. For having lately married

(*m*) *Ezra* v. 3 — 17.(*n*) *Herodotus* lib. 3.(*o*) *Ezra* vi.

two of the daughters of *Cyrus* the better to fortify his title to the Crown thereby, he thought it concerned him to do every thing, that might tend to support the honour and veneration which was due to the memory of that great Prince, and therefore would suffer nothing to be infringed of that, which he had so solemnly granted, but ordered his Royal Decree to be drawn, wherein recitement being made of the Decree of *Cyrus*, he commanded it in every particular to be observed, and sent it to *Tatnai* and *Setharboznai*, to see it fully and effectually put in Execution, decreeing that whosoever should alter the same, or put any obstruction to it, should have his House pulled down, and that a Gallows being made of the Timber of it, he should be hanged thereon.

On (p) the twenty fourth day of the eleventh month (that is about the beginning of our *February*) the Prophet *Zechariah* had in a vision that Revelation made unto him, which is contained in the Book of his Prophecies from the seventh verse of the first Chapter to the ninth verse of the sixth Chapter. The substance of which is to express the mercy, that God would shew unto his people in the restoration and redemption of *Sion*, and the vengeance, which he would execute upon those, that had oppressed them.

About the beginning of the fourth year of *Darius*, his Decree, which confirmed that of *Cyrus* in favour of the *Jews*, was brought to *Jerusalem*. *It* was about the beginning of the former year, that *Tatnai* sent to the King about it, and less than a year's time cannot be well allowed for the dispatch of such an affair. For the King then residing at *Shushan* in *Persia*, was at such a distance from *Judea*, that the journey of the Messenger thither to him could not take up less than three months time, (for (q) *Ezra* was four months in coming to *Judea* from *Babylon*, which was at least one quarter of the way nearer) and on his arrival, it cannot be supposed, that in a Court, where the Government of

Anno 518.
Darius 4.

(p) Zechariah i. 7.

(q) Ezra vii. 9.

so large an Empire was managed, he could immediately come at a dispatch. The multiplicity of other affairs there agitated must necessarily detain him some time before it could come to his turn to be heard for the delivery of his Message, and when he had obtained an Order to search among the Records of the Empire for the Decree of *Cyrus*, (which we cannot imagine to have been without a farther time of attendance) he or some other Messenger first went to *Babylon* to make the search there, and on his failing of finding it in that place, he went from thence to (r) *Ecbatana* the Capital of *Media*, where having found the enrolment of it (for it seems *Cyrus* was there, when he granted it) he returned with it from thence to *Shushan*. In which three journeys and two searches, considering the distance of the said three places from each other, and the vast number of Records, which in the Registries of so large an Empire must be turned over for the finding of that which was searched for, less than five months could not have been expended. And when the Record of *Cyrus's* decree was brought from *Ecbatana* to *Shushan*, a month is the least time that can be supposed for the Dispatch of the new Decree, which *Darius* made in confirmation of it. And then three months more must be allowed for the carrying of it to *Tatnai*, and from him to *Judea*. All which put together make a full year from the time of *Tatnai's* writing his letter to the time of the arrival of *Darius's* Decree in answer to it. When *Tatnai* and *Setharboznai* on the perusal of it found how strictly the King required obedience to be given thereto, they durst not but act in conformity to it, (s) and therefore they did immediately let the *Jews* know hereof, and forthwith took care to have it fully and effectually put in Execution. And from that time the building of the House went on so successfully, that it was fully finished within

(r) This is the same that is now called *Tauris*.
Josephus Antiq. lib. 11. c. 4.

(s) *Ezra vi. 13. &*

three years after. For by vertue of this Decree the *Jews* were not only fully authorized to go on with the building, but were also furnished with the Expences of it out of the Taxes of the Province. This had been granted by *Cyrus* in the former Decree, but by the underhand dealings of the *Samaritans*, and other Enemies, in corrupting those, through whose hands the Administration of the publick Affairs, and publick Revenues passed, this part of *Cyrus's* Decree was rendred ineffectual during a great part of his reign, and through the whole reign of *Cambyfes*. And therefore during all that time the *Jews* being left to carry on the work at their own charges only, and they being then very poor, as being newly returned from their Captivity, it went very slowly on. But being now helped again by the King's bounty, they followed it with that diligence, that they soon brought it to a conclusion.

The publishing of this Decree at *Jerusalem* may be reckoned the thorough restoration of the Jewish State. And from the thorough destruction of it in the burning of the City and Temple of *Jerusalem* by the *Chaldeans* to this time is just seventy years. The time falling so exactly, and the Prophet *Zechariah* confirming it by expressing under (t) the 4th year of *Darius*, that the mourning and fasting of the *Jews* for the destruction of *Jerusalem*, and the utter driving of them out of the Land on the death of *Gedaliah* was then (u) just seventy years; this hath given a plausible handle to some for the placing of the beginning of the seventy years of the *Babylonish* Captivity, spoken of by *Jeremiah*, at the destruction of *Jerusalem*, and the end of them at the publication of this Decree of *Darius*. But the Scripture plainly tells us, that these seventy years as prophesied of by the Prophet *Jeremiah*, began (w) from the 4th year of *Jeboiakim*, and expired (x) on the first of *Cyrus*, on his

(t) Zechariah vii. 1.
xxv.

(u) Zechariah vii. 5.

(w) Jeremiah

(x) 2 Chron. xxxvi. 20—23.

then granting his Decree for the rebuilding of the Temple, and the return of the *Jews* again into their own Land. But this matter will admit of a very easy reconciliation, for both Computations may very well stand together. For though the *Babylonish* Captivity did begin from the fourth of *Jehoiakim*, when *Nebuchadnezzar* first subjugated the Land, and carried away to *Babylon* the first Captives, yet it was not compleated till he had absolutely destroyed it in the eleventh year of *Zedekiah*, which was just eighteen years after. And so likewise tho' the deliverance from this Captivity, and the Restoration of the Jewish State thereon, was begun by the Decree of *Cyrus* in the first year of his reign, yet it was not compleated, till that Decree was put in full vigour of Execution by the Decree, which *Darius* granted in the fourth year of his Reign for the confirmation of it, which was also just eighteen years after. And therefore if we reckon from the beginning of the Captivity, to the beginning of the Restoration, we must reckon from the fourth year of *Jehoiakim*, to the first of *Cyrus*, which was just seventy years; and if we reckon from the completion of the Captivity, to the completion of the Restoration, we must reckon from the Eleventh of *Zedekiah*, to the fourth of *Darius*, which was also just seventy years. So that whether we reckon from the beginning of the Captivity to the beginning of the Restoration, or from the compleating of the Captivity to the compleating of the Restoration, *Jeremiah's* Prophecy of the seventy years Captivity will be both ways equally accomplished, and therefore I doubt not but that both ways were equally intended therein, though the words of the Prophecy seem chiefly to refer to the former.

On the publication of this Decree of *Darius*, and the care that was taken to have it fully put in Execution, without suffering any of those devices to obstruct it, which had rendred the former Decree ineffectual, the work of the Temple went on very successfully, and the state of the *Jews* in *Judea* and *Jerusalem*

Jerusalem seemed so thoroughly restored, that the *Jews* who were in *Babylon*, on their having had an account hereof, thought it might not be any longer proper to keep those Fasts, which hitherto they had observed for seventy years past for the destruction, which *Judah* and *Jerusalem* had suffered from the *Chaldeans* in the time of *Zedekiah*, as looking on them now to have obtained a thorough Restoration from it. And therefore (y) sent Messengers to *Jerusalem*, *Sharezer* and *Regem-melech*, to ask advice of the Priests and Prophets, that were there, concerning this matter. For from the time of the Destruction of the City and Temple of *Jerusalem* the *Jews* of the Captivity had kept four Fasts in Commemoration of the Calamities which then hapned to their Nation; The (z) first on the tenth day of the tenth Month, because then *Nebuchadnezzar* first laid Siege to *Jerusalem* in the ninth year of *Zedekiah*; The (a) second on the ninth day of the fourth Month, because on that day the City was taken; The third (b) on the tenth day of the fifth Month, because then the City and Temple were burnt by *Nebuzaradan*; And the fourth (c) on the third day of the seventh Month, because on that day *Gedaliah* was slain, and the remainder of the people were thereon dispersed and driven out of the Land, which compleated the desolation of it. Concerning all which Fasts, and the Question of the *Babylonish Jews* proposed concerning them, God gave them by the Prophet *Zechariah* that answer, which we have in the seventh and eighth Chapters of his Prophecies. Therein (d) the Fasts of the fifth and seventh Month are said to have been observed for seventy years past. And from the nineteenth year of *Nebuchadnezzar* according to the *Jewish* account (which was the seventeenth according to the *Baby-*

(y) *Zechariah* vii.(z) 2 Kings xxv. 1. *Jeremiah* lii. 4. *Ze-**chariah* viii. 19.(a) 2 Kings xxv. 3. *Jeremiah* xxix. 2. *Zecha-**riah* viii. 19.(b) *Jeremiah* lii. 12. *Zechariah* vii. 3, 5. & viii. 19.(c) *Jeremiah* xli. 1. *Zechariah* vii. 5. & viii. 19.(d) *Zechariah* vii. 5.

lonish account) (e) when *Jerusalem* was destroyed, to the fourth year of *Darius Hystaspis*, when the *Jewish* State was again thoroughly restored, were just seventy years according to the Canon of *Ptolemy*. So the Sacred and Profane Chronology do both exactly agree in this matter. The *Jews* still observe these four Fasts even to this day, tho' not exactly on the same days in their (ee) present Calendar, as in the former.

In the beginning of the fifth year of *Darius* happened (f) the Revolt of the *Babylonians*, which cost him the trouble of a tedious Siege again to reduce them, for it lasted twenty Months. This City having for many years during the *Babylonish* Empire been the Mistress of the East, and domineer'd over all the Countries round about them, could not bear the subjection which they were fallen under to the *Persians*, especially after they had removed the Imperial Seat of the Empire from *Babylon* to *Shushan*. For that much diminished the Grandure, Pride, and Wealth of the place, which they thought they could no other way again retrieve, but by setting up for themselves against the *Persians*, under a King of their own, in the same manner as they had formerly done under *Nabopolassar* against the *Assyrians*. And therefore taking the advantage of the Revolution which hapned in the *Persian* Empire, first on the death of *Cambyfes*, and after on the slaying of the *Magians*, they began to lay in all manner of Provisions for the War, and after they had covertly done this for four years together, till they had fully stored the City for many years to come, in

(e) 2 Kings xxv. 8. Jeremiah lii. 12. (ee) Their present Calendar was made by R. Hillel, about the year of our Lord 360. Their former year was a Lunar year reconciled to a Solar by Intercalations, but in what form is uncertain, only it was always to have its beginning about the time of the vernal Equinox, to which season the products of their Flocks and their Fields, which were required to be used at their Feasts of the Passover, and the Pentecost, necessarily fixed it.

(f) Herodotus lib. 3. Justin

lib. i. c. 10. Polyænus lib. 7.

the fifth year they broke out into an open Revolt; which drew *Darius* upon them with all his Forces to besiege the City. In the beginning of the third year of *Darius* we learn from the Prophet *Zechariah*, that (g) the whole Empire was then in Peace; and therefore the Revolt could not then have hapned; and the Message of *Sherazer* and *Regem-melech* from *Babylon*, (h) in the fourth year of his Reign proves the same for that year also. And therefore it could not be 'till the fifth year, that this war broke out. As soon as (i) the *Babylonians* saw themselves begirt by such an Army, as they could not cope with in the Field, they turned their thoughts wholly to the supporting of themselves in the Siege; in order whereto they took a resolution, the most desperate and barbarous, that ever any Nation practised. For to make their provisions last the longer, they agreed to cut off all unnecessary Mouths among them, and therefore drawing together all the women and children, they strangled them all, whether wives, sisters, daughters, or young children useless for the wars, excepting only that every man was allowed to save one of his wives, which he best loved, and a maid-servant to do the work of the House. And hereby was very signally fulfilled the Prophecy of *Isaiah* against them, in which he foretold, That (k) two things should come to them in a moment, in one day, the loss of children and widowhood, and that these should come upon them in their perfection, for the multitude of their Sorceries, and the great abundance of their Incantments. And in what greater perfection could these Calamities come upon them, than when they themselves thus upon themselves became the Executioners of them? And in many other particulars did God then execute his vengeance upon this wicked and abominable City, which was foretold by several of the Prophets; and the *Jews* were as often

(g) *Zechariah* i. 11 — 15.(h) *Zechariah* vii. 1 — 3.(i) *Herodotus* lib. 3.(k) *Isaiah* xlvii. 9.

(*l*) warned to come out of the place, before the time of its approach, that they might not be involved in it. And especially (*m*) the Prophet *Zechariah* about two years before sent them a call from God, that is, *to Zion that dwelt with the daughter of Babylon, to flee and come forth from that Land*, that they might be delivered from the plague, which God was going to inflict upon it. And when *Sherazer* and *Regem-melech* returned to *Babylon*, no doubt they carried back with them from this Prophet a repetition of the same call; and although it be no where said, that they paid obedience to it, and so saved themselves, yet we may take it for certain, that they did, and by seasonably removing from *Babylon*, before the Siege begun, avoided partaking of the Calamities of it. For almost all the Prophecies concerning this heavy judgment upon *Babylon* speaking of it, as the vengeance of God upon them for their cruel dealings with his people, when they were delivered into their hands; and they all at the same time promising peace, mercy, and favour to all, that were of his people; and particularly such a promise having been sent them but the year before (*n*) by *Sherazer* and *Regem-melech*, it is utterly inconsistent with the whole tenour of these sacred predictions, that any of the Jewish Nation should be sufferers with the *Babylonians* in this war, and therefore we may assuredly infer, that they were all gone out of this place, before this war begun.

Darius having lain before *Babylon* a year and eight months, (*o*) at length toward the end of the sixth year of his reign he took it by the stratagem of *Zopyrus* one of his chief Commanders. For he having cut off his Nose, and Ears, and mangled his Body all over with stripes, fled in this condition to the besieged, where feigning to have suffered all this by the cruel usage of *Darius*, he

(*l*) *Isaiah* xlvi. 20. *Jeremiah* l. 8. & li. 6, 9, 45.
 (*n*) *Zechariah* viii.
 (*o*) *Herodotus*

lib. 3. *Justin lib.* 1. c. 10. *Polyænius lib.* 7.

grew thereby so far into their confidence, as at length to be made the chief commander of their forces, which trust he made use of to deliver the City to his Master, which could scarce have been any other way taken. For the walls by reason of their height and strength made the place impregnable against all storms, batteries and assaults, and it being furnished with provisions for a great many years, and having also (p) large quantities of void ground within the City, from the cultivation of which it might annually be supplied with much more, it could never have been starved into a surrender; and therefore at length it must have wearied and worn out *Darius*, and all his army, had it not been thus delivered into his hand by this stratagem of *Zopyrus*, for which he deservedly rewarded him with the highest honours he could heap on him all his life after. As soon as *Darius* was Master of the place, he took away (q) all their hundred Gates, and beat down (r) their walls from two hundred Cubits (which was their former height) to fifty Cubits, and of these walls only (s) *Strabo*, and other after-writers are to be understood, when they describe the walls of *Babylon* to be no more than fifty Cubits high. And as to the Inhabitants, after having given them for a spoil to his *Persians*, who had been before their servants, according to the Prophecy of *Zechariah* (c. ii. 9.) and impaled three thousand of the most guilty, and active of them in the Revolt, he pardoned all the rest. But by reason of the destruction they had made of their women in the beginning of the Siege, he was forced to send for fifty thousand of that sex out of the other Provinces of the Empire to supply them with wives, without which the place must soon have become depopulated for want of propagation.

And here it is to be observed that the punishment

(p) Quintus Curtius lib. 5. c. 1. Per 90 Stadia habitatur, cætera serunt coluntque, ut si externa vis ingruat, obsessis alimenta ex ipsius urbis solo subministrantur.

(q) Jeremiah li. 58. Herodotus ibid.

(r) Jer. l. 15. & li. 44, 48. Herodotus ibid.

(s) Strabo lib. 16.

of *Babylon* kept pace with the Restoration of *Judah* and *Jerusalem*, according to the Prophecy of the Prophet *Jeremiah* (ch. xxv. 12, 13.) whereby he foretold, That *when the seventy years of Judah's Captivity should be accomplished, God would punish the King of Babylon, and that nation for their iniquity, and the Land of the Chaldeans, and would make it a perpetual desolation, and would bring upon that Land all the words which he had pronounced against it.* For accordingly, when the Restoration of *Judah* began in the first of *Cyrus* after the expiration of the first seventy years, that is from the fourth of *Jehoiakim*, to the first of *Cyrus*, then began *Babylon's* Punishment, in being conquered and subjected to the *Persians*, in the same manner as they had conquered and subjected the *Jews* to them in the beginning of the said seventy years. And after the Expiration of the second seventy years, that is from the nineteenth of *Nebuchadnezzar*, when *Judah* and *Jerusalem* were thoroughly desolated, to the 4th of *Darius*, when the Restoration of both was compleated, then the desolation of *Babylon* was also in a great measure compleated in the Devastation which was then brought upon it by *Darius*. In the first part of their Punishment their King was slain, and their City taken, and thenceforth from being (i) *the Lady of Kingdoms*, and mistress of all the East, it became subject to the *Persians*. And whereas before it had been the Metropolis of a Great Empire, this honour was now taken from it, and the imperial Seat removed from thence to *Shushan* or *Susa* (for this seems to have been done in the first year of *Cyrus's* reign over the whole Empire) and *Babylon* thenceforth instead of having a King, had only a Deputy residing there, who govern'd it as a Province of the *Persian* Empire. And at the same time, that the City was thus brought under, the Country was desolated and destroyed by the inundation, that was caused by turning of the River on the taking of the City,

(i) *Isaiah* xlviii. 5.

which hath been already spoken of, and thereon it became a possession for the Bittern and Pools of water, as the Prophet *Isaiah* foretold (ch. xiv. 23.) and the sea came up upon Babylon, and she was covered with the multitude of the waves thereof, according as *Jeremiah* prophesied hereof (ch. li. 42.) And in the second part of their punishment on *Darius's* taking the place, all that calamity and devastation was brought upon it, which hath been already spoken of, and from that it did never any more recover it self, but languished a while, and at length ended according to the words of *Jeremiah* in a perpetual Desolation.

In the sixth year of *Darius* according to the Jewish account, and on the third day of the twelfth month, called the month of *Adar* (which Anno 515.
Darius 7. answered to part of the third, and part of the fourth month of the *Babylonish* year, and consequently was in the seventh year of *Darius* according to the *Babylonish* account) (u) the building of the Temple at *Jerusalem* was finished, and the Dedication of it was celebrated by the Priests and Levites, and all the rest of the Congregation of *Israel*, with great joy and solemnity. And among other Sacrifices then offered, there was a Sin-Offering for all *Israel* of twelve he-goats, according to the number of the Tribes of *Israel*, which is a farther addition of proof to what hath been above said, that on the return of *Judah* and *Benjamin* from the *Babylonish* Captivity, some also of each of the other Tribes of *Israel* returned with them out of *Assyria*, *Babylon* and *Media*, whither they had been before carried, and joining with them in the rebuilding of the Temple (to which they had originally an equal right) partook also in the solemnity of this Dedication, otherwise there is no reason why any such offering should have been then made in their behalf. But the most of them that returned being of the Tribe of *Judah*,

(u) *Exra* vi. 14—18.

that swallowed up the names of all the rest, for from this time the whole people of *Israel* of what Tribe soever they were (uu) began to be called *Jews*, and by that name they have all of them been ever since known all the world over.

This work was twenty years in finishing. For so many years were elapsed from the second of *Cyrus*, when it was first begun, to the seventh of *Darius*, when it was fully finished. During the latter part of the reign of *Cyrus*, and through the whole reign of *Cambyfes*, it met with such discouragements through the fraudulent devices of the *Samaritans*, that it went but slowly on for all that time. And during the usurpation of the *Magians*, and for almost (w) two Years after, it was wholly suppressed, that is 'till towards the latter end of the second year of the reign of *Darius*. But then it being again resumed on the preaching of the Prophets *Haggai* and *Zechariah*, and afterwards encouraged and helped forward by the Decree of *Darius*, it was thenceforth carried on with that vigour, especially through the Exhortations and Prophecies of the two Prophets I have mentioned, that in the beginning of the seventh year of *Darius* it was fully finished, and dedicated anew to the service of God, in the manner as hath been said. In this Dedication the 146th, the 147th, and the 148th Psalms seem to have been sung. For in the *Septuagint* version they are stiled the Psalms of *Haggai* and *Zechariah*, as if they had been composed by them for this Occasion. And this no doubt was from some ancient Tradition, but in the Original *Hebrew* these Psalms have no such Title prefixed to them, neither have they any other to contradict it.

The Decree whereby this Temple was finished having been granted by *Darius* at his Palace in *Shu-*

(uu) Josephus Antiq. lib. 11. c. 5. Euseb. Demonst. Evang. lib. 8.

(w) In the first of *Esdra*s v. 73. it's said, that the time of the stop, which was put to the building, was two years.

shan (or *Susa*, as the *Greeks* call the place) in remembrance hereof (x) the Eastern Gate in the outer Wall of the Temple was from this time called the Gate of *Shushan*, and a Picture and draught of that City was portraied in Sculpture over it, and there continued 'till the last destruction of that Temple by the *Romans*.

In the next Month after the Dedication, which was the Month *Nisan*, the first of the *Jewish* year, the Temple being now made fit for all parts of the Divine Service, (y) the Passover was observed in it on the fourteenth day of that Month according to the Law of God, and solemnized by all the Children of *Israel*, that were then returned from the Captivity, with great joy and gladness of heart, because, saith the Book of *Ezra*, (z) *The Lord hath made them joyful, and turned the heart of the King of Assyria unto them to strengthen their hands in the work of the House of God, the God of Israel*; from whence (a) Archbishop *Usher* infers, that *Babylon* must necessarily have been reduced by *Darius* before this time. For otherwise he thinks he could not have been here stiled King of *Assyria*, *Babylon* being then the Metropolis of that Kingdom.

And if we will add one Stage more to the two above-mentioned of the Captivity and Restoration of *Judah*, and place the full completion of the Captivity in the 23d of *Nebuchadnezzar* according to the *Jewish* account (which was the 21st according to the *Babylonish*) (b) when *Nebuzaradan* carried away the last remainder of the Land: And the full completion of the Restoration at the finishing of the Temple, and the restoration of the Divine worship therein, this stage will have the like distance of seventy years. For the Dedication of this Temple, and the solemn-

(x) See *Lightfoot of the Temple*, c. 3. (y) *Ezra* vi. 19—22.

(z) *Ezra* vi. 22. (a) *Annales veteris Testamenti* sub A. M. 3489.

(b) *Jeremiah* lii. 30.

nizing of the first Passover in it being in the seventh year of *Darius*, it will fall in the seventieth year from the (c) said 23d of *Nebuchadnezzar* according to *Ptolemy's* Canon. So that taking it which way you will, and at what stage you please, the Prophecy of *Jeremiah* will be fully, and exactly accomplished concerning this matter. And here ending the rebuilding of the second Temple, I shall herewith end this Book.

(c) That is, reckoning the 23d year of *Nebuchadnezzar* according to the Jewish account to be the 21st according to the Babylonish account, which *Ptolemy* went by.





THE
OLD *and* NEW TESTAMENT
Connected in the
HISTORY
OF THE
Jews and Neighbouring Nations,
FROM THE
Declension of the Kingdoms of *Israel*
and *Judah* to the time of CHRIST.

BOOK IV.

THE *Samaritans* still carrying on their former spite and rancor against the *Jews* gave them new trouble, on this Occasion. The Tribute of *Samaria* had been assigned first (a) by *Cyrus*, and afterwards (b) by *Darius*, for the reparation of the Temple at *Jerusalem*, and the furnishing of the

Anno 514.
Darius 8.

(a) Joseph. Antiq. lib. 11. c. 1.

(b) Joseph. lib. 11. c. 4.
Jews

Jews with Sacrifices, that (c) oblations and prayers might there daily be offered up for the King, and the Royal Family, and for the welfare and prosperity of the *Persian* Empire: This was a matter of great regret and heart-burning to the *Samaritans*, and was in truth the Source and the true Original Reason of all the oppositions, which they made against them. For they thought it an indignity upon them to be forced to pay their Tribute to the *Jews*, and therefore they did (d) by Bribes, and other underhand dealings, prevail with the Ministers, and other Officers to whose charge this matter belonged, during the latter part of the reign of *Cyrus*, and all the time of *Cambyfes*, to put a stop to this Assignment, and did all else, that they could, wholly to quash it. But the grant being again (e) renewed by *Darius*, and the Execution of it so strictly enjoined in the manner as hath been before related, the Tribute was thenceforth annually paid, to the end for which it was assigned, without any more gainsaying, till this year. But now on pretence that the Temple was finished (though the Out-buildings still remained unrepaired, and were not finished till many years after) they (f) refused to let the *Jews* any longer have the Tribute, alledging, that it being assigned them for the repairing of their Temple, now the Temple was repaired, the end of that assignment was ceased, and that consequently the payment of the said Tribute was to cease with it, and for this reason would pay it no longer to them. Whereon the *Jews* to right themselves in this matter, sent *Zerubbabel* the Governour with *Mordecai* and *Ananias*, two other principal men among them, with a complaint to *Darius* of the wrong that was done them in the detaining of his Royal bounty from them, contrary to the purport of the Edict which he had in that behalf made. The King on the hearing of the complaint, and the informing

(c) Ezra vi. 8, 9, 10.

c. 2.

(e) Ezra vi.

(d) Ezra iv. 5. Joseph. Antiq. lib. 11.

(f) Joseph. Antiq. lib. 11. c. 4.

of himself about it, issued out his Royal Order to his Officers at *Samaria*, strictly requiring and commanding them to take effectual care, that the *Samaritans* observe his Edict in paying their Tribute to the Temple of *Jerusalem*, as formerly, and no more on any pretence whatsoever give the *Jews* any cause for the future to complain of their failure herein. And after this we hear no more of any opposition or contest concerning this matter, till the time of *Sanballat*, which was many years after.

From the time of the reduction of *Babylon* (g) *Darius* had set himself to make great preparations for a war against the *Scythians*, that inhabited those Countries, which lie between the *Danube* and the *Tanais*; his pretence for it was to be revenged on them for their having invaded *Asia*, and held it in subjection to them eight and twenty years, as hath been afore related. This was in the time of *Cyaxares* the first of that name King of *Media* about an hundred and twenty years before. But for want of a better colour for that, which his Ambition and thirst for Conquest only led him to, this was given out for the reason of the War. In order whereto having drawn together an Army of seven hundred thousand men, he marched with them to the *Thracian Bosphorus*, and having there passed over it on a Bridge of Boats, he brought all *Thrace* in Subjection to him, and then marched to the *Ister*, or *Danube*, where he appointed his Fleet to come to him (which consisted mostly of *Ionians*, and other *Grecian* Nations, dwelling in the maritim parts of *Asia*, and on the *Hellepont*) he there passed over another Bridge of Boats into the Country of the *Scythians*, and having there for three Months time pursued them through several desert and uncultivated Countries, where they drew him by their Flight of purpose to harraß and destroy his Army, he was glad

Anno 513.
Darius 9.

(g) Herodotus lib. 4. Justin lib. 2. c. 5. Cornelius Nepos in Mil-
tiade.

at last to return with one half of them, having lost the other half in this unfortunate and ill-projected Expedition. And had not the *Ionians* by the persuasion of *Hestieus* Prince of *Miletus* (or Tyrant as the *Grecians* call him) contrary to the opinion of others among them, stayed with the Fleet to afford him a passage back, he and all the rest must have perished also. *Miltiades*, Prince of the *Thracian Chersonesus*, which lies at the Mouth of the *Hellepont*, being one of those who attended *Darius* with his Ships, was earnest for their departure, and the first that moved it, telling them, that by their going away, and leaving *Darius* and his army to perish on the other side of the *Danube*, they had a fair opportunity of breaking the power of the *Persians*, and delivering themselves from the yoke of that Tyranny, which would be to the advantage of every one of their respective Countries. This was urged by him in a Council of the chief Commanders, and would certainly have taken place, but that *Hestieus* in answer hereto soon made them sensible, what a dangerous risk they were going to run. For he convinced them, that if this were done, the people of each of their Cities being freed from the fear of the *Persians*, would immediately rise upon them to recover their Liberties, and this would end in the ruin of every one of them, who now with sovereign authority under the protection of *Darius* securely reigned over them. Which being the true state of their case, this argument prevailed with them, so that they all resolved to stay, and this gave *Darius* the means of again repassing the River into *Thrace*, where having left *Megabyzus* one of his chief Commanders with part of his Army to finish his conquests in those parts, and thoroughly settle the Country in his obedience, he repassed the *Bosphorus* with the rest, and retired to *Sardis*, where he stayed all the winter, and the most part of the ensuing year, to refresh his broken forces, and resettle his Affairs in those parts of his Empire, after the shock
that

that had been given them by the baffle and loss which he had sustained in this ill-advised Expedition.

Megabyzus having reduced most of the Nations of *Thrace* under the *Persian* yoke returned to *Sardis* to *Darius*, (b) and from thence accompanied him to *Susa*, whither he marched back about the end of the year, after having appointed *Artaphernes* one of his Brothers Governour of *Sardis*, and *Otanes* chief commander of *Thrace*, and the maritim parts adjoining, in the place of *Megabyzus*. This *Otanes* was the son of *Sisamnes*, one of the Royal Judges of *Persia*, who having been convicted of Bribery and Corruption by *Cambyfes*, there is related this remarkable instance of that King's Justice towards him, (bb) that he caused him to be flea'd alive, and making with his Skin a Covering for the seat of the Tribunal, made this his Son, whom he appointed to succeed him in his Office, to sit thereon, that being thus put in mind of his father's punishment, he might thereby be admonish'd to avoid his crime.

Anno 512.

Darius 10.

The *Scythians* to be revenged on *Darius* for his invading their Country (i) passed over the *Danube*, and ravaged all those parts of *Thrace* that had submitted to the *Persians*, as far as the *Hellepont*, whereon *Miltiades* to avoid their rage fled from the *Chersonesus*, but on the retreat of the enemy he returned, and was again reinstated in his former power by the Inhabitants of the Country.

Anno 510.

Darius 12.

About this time *Darius*, being desirous to enlarge his Dominions Eastward, in order to the conquering of those Countries, laid a Design of first making a Discovery of them, (k) for which purpose having built a Fleet of Ships at *Caspatyrus*, a City on the River *Indus*, and as far up upon it, as the borders of *Scythia*, he gave the

Anno 509.

Darius 13.

(b) Herodotus lib. 5.

(bb) Herodotus lib. 5. Valerius Maxi-

mus lib. 6. c. 3. Ammianus Marcellinus lib. 24.

(i) Herodot.

lib. 6.

(k) Herodot. lib. 4.

command of it to *Scylax* a *Grecian* of *Caryandia*, a City in *Caria*, and one well skill'd in maritim affairs, and sent him down the River to make the best discoveries he could of all the parts, which lay on the Banks of it on either side, ordering him for this end to sail down the current till he should arrive at the Mouth of the River, and that then passing thorough it into the Southern Ocean he should shape his course Westward, and that way return home. Which orders he having exactly executed, he returned by the streights of *Babelmandel* and the Red-Sea, and on the thirtieth month after his first setting out from *Caspatyrus* landed in *Egypt*, at the same place, from whence *Necho* King of *Egypt* formerly sent out his *Phœnicians* to sail round the Coasts of *Africa*, which it's most likely was the Port, where now the Town of *Sues* stands at the hither end of the said Red-Sea. And from thence he went to *Susa*, and there gave *Darius* an account of all the Discoveries which he had made. After this *Darius* entred *India* with an Army, and brought all that large Country under him, and (l) made it the twentieth Præfecture of his Empire, from whence he annually received a Tribute of three hundred and sixty Talents of Gold according to the number of the days of the then *Persian* year, appointing a Talent to be paid him for every day in it. This payment was made him according to the standard of the *Euboic* Talent, which was near the same with the *Attic*, and therefore according to the lowest computation it (m) amounted to the value of one Million and ninety five thousand pound of our money.

A (n) Sedition happening in *Naxus*, the chief Island of the *Cyclades* in the *Egean* Sea now called the *Archipelago*, and the better fort being therein overpowered by the greater

(l) Herodot. lib. 3.

(m) For according to the lowest valuation an Attic Talent of Gold amounts to three thousand Pound of our Money.

(n) Herodot. lib. 5.

number, many of the wealthiest of the Inhabitants were expelled the Island, and driven into Banishment. Whereon retiring to *Miletus* they there begged the Assistance of *Aristagoras* for the restoring of them again to their Country. This *Aristagoras* then governed that City as Deputy to *Hestiaeus*, whose Nephew and Son-in-Law he was, *Hestiaeus* being then absent at *Susa* in *Persia*. For *Darius*, on his return to *Sardis* after his unfortunate expedition against the *Scythians*, being thoroughly informed that he owed the safety of himself and all his army to *Hestiaeus*, in that he persuaded the *Ionians* not to desert him at the *Danube*, sent for him to come to him, and having acknowledged his Service bid him ask his reward. Whereon he desired of him the *Edonian Myrcinus*, a Territory on the River *Strymon* in *Thrace*, in order to build a City there; and having obtained his request immediately on his return to *Miletus* he equipped a Fleet and sailed for *Thrace*, and having there taken possession of the Territory granted him did forthwith set himself on the Enterprize of building his intended City in the place projected. *Megabyzus* being then Governor of *Thrace* for *Darius* soon saw what danger this might create to the King's affairs in those parts. For he considered that the new-built City stood upon a navigable River, that the Country thereabout afforded abundance of Timber for the building of Ships, that it was inhabited by several Nations both of *Greeks* and *Barbarians*, which could furnish a great multitude of men fit for military service both by Sea and Land, that if these should get such a crafty and enterprising person as *Hestiaeus* at the head of them, they might soon grow to a power both by Sea and Land too hard for the King to master, and that especially since from their Silver and Gold Mines, of which there were many in that Country, they might be furnished with means enough to carry on any enterprise they should undertake. All this on his return to *Sardis* he represented unto the King, who being thereby made fully sensible

ble of the Errors he had committed, for the remedying of it sent a Messenger to *Myrcinus* to call *Hestæus* to *Sardis* to him, under pretence that having great matters in design, he wanted his Counsel and Advice concerning them; by which means having gotten him into his power he carried him with him to *Susa*, pretending that he needed such an able Counsellor and so faithful a Friend to be always about him to advise with on all occasions that might happen, and that he would make him so far a partaker of his fortunes by his Royal Bounty to him in *Persia*, that he should have no reason any more to think either of *Myrcinus* or *Miletus*. *Hestæus* hereon seeing himself under a necessity of obeying accompanied *Darius* to *Susa*, and appointed *Aristagoras* to govern at *Miletus* in his absence, and to him the banished *Naxians* applied for relief. As soon as *Aristagoras* understood from them their case, he entertained a design of improving this opportunity to the making of himself master of *Naxus*, and therefore readily promised them all the relief and assistance which they desired. But not being strong enough of himself to accomplish what he intended, he went to *Sardis* and communicated the matter to *Artaphernes*, telling him, that this was an opportunity offered for the putting of a rich and fertile Island into the King's hands; That if he had that, all the rest of the *Cyclades* would of course fall under his power also; and that then *Eubæa*, an Island as big as *Cyprus*, lying next, would be an easy conquest, from whence he would have an open passage into *Greece*, for the bringing of all that Country under his obedience, and that an hundred ships would be sufficient to accomplish this enterprize. *Artaphernes* on the hearing of the proposal was so much pleased with it, that instead of the hundred ships which *Aristagoras* demanded, he promised him two hundred, provided the King liked hereof; and accordingly on his writing to him having received his answer of approbation, he sent him the next spring to *Miletus* the number of Ships, which

Anno 503.
Darius 19.

which he had promised, under the Command of *Megabates* a noble *Persian* of the *Achæmenian* or Royal Family. But his Commission being to obey the Orders of *Aristagoras*, and the haughty *Persian* not brooking to be under the command of an *Ionian*, this created a Dissention between the two Generals, which was carried on so far, that *Megabates* to be revenged on *Aristagoras* betrayed the design to the *Naxians*, whereon they provided so fully for their defence, that after the *Persians* had in the siege of the chief City of the Island spent four months, and all their Provisions, they were forced to retire for want where-with there any longer to subsist, and so the whole Plot miscarried, the blame whereof being by *Megabates* all laid upon *Aristagoras*, and the false accusations of the one being more favourably heard, than the just defence of the other, *Artaphernes* charged on him all the Expences of the Expedition, and it was given him to understand, that they would be exacted of him to the utmost penny; which being more than he was able to pay, he foresaw that this must end not only in the loss of his Government, but also in his utter ruin; and therefore being driven into extremities by the desperateness of his case, he entertained thoughts of rebelling against the King, as the only way left him for the extricating of himself out of this difficulty, and while he had this under consideration came a message to him from *Hestieus*, which advised the same thing. For *Hestieus* after several years continuance at the *Persian* Court being weary of their manners, and exceeding desirous of being again in his own Country, sent this advice unto *Aristagoras* as the likeliest means to accomplish his aim herein. For he concluded that if there were any Combustions raised in *Ionia*, he should easily prevail with *Darius* to send him thither to appease them, as it accordingly came to pass. *Aristagoras* therefore finding his own inclinations backed with the order of *Hestieus*, communicated the matter to the chief of the *Ionians*, and finding them all ready to join with

him in what he proposed, he fixed his resolutions for a revolt, and immediately set himself to make all manner of preparations to put them in Execution.

The *Tyrians*, after the taking of their City by *Nebuchadnazzar*, having been reduced to a state of servitude, continued under the pressure of it full seventy years. But these being now expired, they were again, according to the (o) prophecy of *Isaiah*, restored to their former Privileges, and were allowed to have a King again of their own, and accordingly had so till the time of *Alexander*. This favour seems to have been granted them by *Darius* in consideration of their usefulness to him in his Naval wars, and especially at this time, when he needed them and their shipping so much for the reducing of the *Ionians* again to their Obedience to him. Hereon they soon recovered their former prosperity, and by the means of their Traffic, whereby they had made their City the chief mart of all the East, they soon grew to that greatness both of power and riches, as enabled them on *Alexander's* invading the East to make a greater stand against him, than all the *Persian* Empire besides. For they stopped the progress of his whole army full seven months, before they could be reduced, as will be hereafter shewn. This grant was made them by *Darius* in the 19th year of his reign.

Anno 502.

Darius 20.

The next year after, *Aristagoras*, to engage the *Ionians* the more firmly to stick to him, (p) restored them all to their liberties. For beginning first with himself at *Miletus* he there abolished his own authority, and reinstated the people in the Government, and then going round *Ionian* forced all the other Tyrants (as the *Greeks* then called them) in every City to do the same, by which having united them into one common league, and gotten himself to be made the head of it, he openly declared his Revolt from the King, and armed both by

(o) *Isaiah* xxiii. 15, 17.

(p) *Herodot.* lib. 5.

sea and land to make war against him. This was done in the twentieth year of the reign of *Darius*.

Aristagoras, to strengthen himself the more against the *Persians* in this war, which he had begun against them, (q) went in the beginning of the following year to *Lacedæmon* to engage that city in his interest, and gain their assistance. But being there rejected he came to *Athens*, where he had a much more favourable reception. For he had the good fortune to come thither at a time, when he found the *Athenians* in a thorough disposition to close with any proposal against the *Persians*, that should be offered to them, they being then in the highest degree exasperated against them on this occasion. *Hippias* the son of *Pisistratus* Tyrant of *Athens* having been expelled thence about ten years before, after he had in vain tried several other ways for his restoration, at length applied himself to *Artaphernes* at *Sardis*, and having there insinuated himself a great way into his favour was well heard in all that he had to say against the *Athenians*, and he spared not to do all that he could to set *Artaphernes* against them, which the *Athenians* having advice of sent an Embassy to *Sardis* to make friendship with *Artaphernes*, and to desire him not to give ear to their Exil's against them. The answer, which *Artaphernes* gave them, was, that they must receive *Hippias* again, if they would be safe. Which haughty message being brought back to *Athens* did set the whole city into a rage against the *Persians*, and in this juncture *Aristagoras* coming thither easily obtained from them all that he desired, and accordingly they ordered a fleet of twenty ships for his assistance.

In the third year of the war (r) the *Ionians* having gotten all their forces together, and being assisted with twenty Ships from *Athens*, and five from *Eretria*, a City in the Island of *Eubæa*, they sailed to *Ephesus*, and having there laid

Anno 501.

Darius 21.

Anno 500.

Darius 22.

(q) Herodot. lib. 5.

(r) Herodot. lib. 5.

up their Ships resolved on an attempt upon *Sardis*, and accordingly marched thither and took the place. But *Sardis* being built most of Cane, and their Houses being therefore very combustible, one of them being accidentally set on fire did spread the flame to all the rest, and the whole City was burnt down excepting only the castle, where *Artaphernes* retired, and defended himself. But after this accident the *Persians* and *Lydians* gathering together for their defence, and other forces coming in to their assistance from the adjacent parts, the *Ionians* saw it was time for them to retreat, and therefore marched back to their ships at *Ephesus* with all the speed they were able, but before they could reach the place they were overtaken, fought with, and overthrown with a great slaughter. Whereon the *Athenians* going on board their ships hoisted their Sails and returned home, and would not after this be any farther concerned in this war, notwithstanding all the most earnest entreaties, with which they were solicited to it by *Aristagoras*. However (s) their having engaged thus far gave rise to that war between the *Persians* and the *Greeks*, which being carried on for several generations after between these two Nations caused infinite Calamities to both, and at last ended in the utter destruction of the *Persian* Empire. For *Darius* on his hearing of the burning of *Sardis*, and the part which the *Athenians* had therein, from that time resolved on a war against *Greece*, and that he might be sure not to forget it, he caused one of his attendants every day, when he was set at Dinner, to say aloud unto him three times; *Sir, remember the Athenians*. In the burning of *Sardis*, it hapned, that the Temple of *Cybele*, the Goddess of the Country, took fire and was consumed with the rest of the City, which afterwards served the *Persians* for a pretence to set on fire all the Temples of the *Grecians*, which came

(s) Herodotus, lib. 5. Cornelius Nepos in Miltiade.

in their way, tho' in truth that proceeded from another cause, which shall be hereafter related.

On the departure of the *Athenians* (t) the rest of the confederate fleet sailed to the *Hellepont*, and the *Propontis*, and reduced the *Byzantines*, and most of the other *Grecian* Cities in those parts under their power. And then sailing back again brought in the *Carians* to join with them in this war, and also the *Cypriots*, who all (excepting the *Amathusians*) entered into the same confederacy against *Darius* and revolted from him, which drawing upon them all the forces, that the *Persians* had in *Cilicia*, and the other Neighbouring Provinces, and also a great fleet from *Phenicia*, the *Ionians* sailed thither to their assistance, and engaging the *Phenician* fleet gave them a great overthrow. But at the same time the *Cypriots* being vanquished in a battle at Land, and the head of that Conspiracy slain in it, the *Ionians* lost the whole fruit of their victory at Sea, and were forced to return without having at all benefited either themselves or their allys by it. For after this defeat at Land the whole Island was again reduced, and within three years after the same persons, whom they had now assisted, came against them with their ships in conjunction with the rest of the *Persian* fleet to compleat their utter destruction.

The next year after, being the 23d of *Darius*, (u) *Daurises*, *Hymeas*, and *Otanes*, three *Persian* Generals, and all sons-in-law of *Darius* by the marriage of his daughters, having divided the *Persian* Forces between them, marched three several ways to attack the Revolters. *Daurises* with his Army directed his Course to the *Hellepont*, but after having there reduced several of the revolted Cities, on his hearing that the *Carians* had also joined the confederates, he left those parts, and marched with all his forces against them. Whereon *Hymeas*, who was first sent to the *Propontis*, after having ta-

Anno 499.
Darius 23.

(t) Herodotus, lib. 5.

(u) Herodotus, lib. 5.

ken the City of *Cyus* in *Mysia*, marched thence to supply his place on the *Hellepont*, where there was much more need of him, and there reduced all the *Asian* Coast, but falling sick at *Troas* he there dyed the next year after. *Artaphernes* and *Otanes* with the third Army, resolving to strike at the very heart of the Confederacy, fell into *Ionian* and *Æolian*, where the chief of their strength lay, and took *Clazomenæ* in *Ionian* and *Cyma* in *Æolia*, which was such a blow to the whole confederacy, that *Aristagoras* hereon despairing of his cause resolved to leave *Miletus*, and shift elsewhere for his safety, and therefore getting together all that were willing to accompany him, he went on shipboard, and set sail for the River *Strymon* in *Thrace*, and there seized on the Territory of *Mercinus*, which *Darius* had formerly given to *Hestæus*; but the next year after, while he besieged the City, he was there slain by the *Thracians*, and all his Army cut in pieces.

Anno 498.

Darius 24.

In the 24th year of *Darius* (w) *Daurises* having fallen into the Country of the *Carians* overthrew them in two battels with a very great slaughter, but in a third battel being drawn into an Ambush he was slain with several other eminent *Persians*, and his whole army cut off, and destroyed.

Anno 497.

Darius 25.

Artaphernes with *Otanes*, and the rest of the *Persian* Generals, seeing that *Miletus* was the head, and chief strength of the *Ionian* Confederacy, (x) resolved to bend all their force against it, reckoning, that if they could make themselves masters of this City, all the rest would fall of Course. The *Ionians* being informed of this, agreed in their general council to bring no army into the field, but provide and strengthen *Miletus*, as well as they could, for a siege, and to draw all their forces to fight the *Persians* by Sea, in which sort of fighting they thought themselves, by reason of their skill in

(w) Herodot. lib. 5.

(x) Herodot. lib. 6.

maritim affairs, most likely to prevail; in order where-
to they appointed *Lada*, a small Island before *Miletus*, for their Rendezvous, and thither they came to the number of 353 ships; at the sight of which the *Persians*, though their fleet was double the number, fearing the event, came not to a battel with them, 'till they had, by their Emissaries sent among them, corrupted the major part to desert the cause; so that when they came to engage, the *Samians*, *Lesbians*, and several others, hoisting their Sails, and departing home, there were not above an hundred ships left to bear the whole brunt of the day; who being soon overborn by the number of the Enemy, were almost all lost and destroyed. After this *Miletus* being besieged both by Sea and Land soon fell a prey into the hands of the victors, who absolutely destroyed the place; which happened in the sixth year after the revolt of *Aristagoras*. From *Miletus*, the *Persians* marched into *Caria*, and having there taken some Cities by force, and received others by voluntary submission, in a short time reduced all that Country again under their former Yoke. The *Milesians*, who were saved from the sword in the taking of the City, being sent Captives to *Darius* to *Susa*, he did them no farther harm, but sent them to inhabit the City of *Ampha*, which was situated at the mouth of the *Tigris*, where in conjunction with the *Euphrates* it falls into the *Persian* Gulph, not far from the place where now the City *Balsora* stands, and there they continued a *Grecian* Colony for many ages after.

After the taking of *Miletus*, the *Persian* fleet, which mostly consisted of *Phœnicians*, *Cypriots*, and *Egyptians*, having wintered on the Coasts thereof, (y) the next year took in *Samos*, *Cbius*, *Lesbus*, and the rest of the Islands. And while they were thus employed at Sea, the Armies at Land fell on the Cities of the Continent, and having brought them all again under their power, they

Anno 496.
Darius 26.

(y) Herodot. lib. 6.

treated them, as they had afore threatned, that is they made all the beautifullest of their youths Eunuchs, sent all their Virgins into *Persia*, and burnt all their Cities with their Temples; into so grievous a Calamity were they brought by this Revolt, which the self-designs of one enterprising busy-headed man, *Hestieus* the *Milesian*, led them into, and he himself had his share in it. For this very year being taken Prisoner by the *Persians*, he was carried to *Sardis*, and there crucified by the order of *Artaphernes*. He hastned his Execution, without consulting *Darius* about it, lest his kindness for him might extend to the granting him his pardon, and thereby a dangerous enemy to the *Persians* be again let loose to embarrass their affairs. And that it would have so happened, as he conjectured, did afterwards appear. For when his head was brought to *Darius*, he expressed great displeasure against the Authors of his death, and caused his head to be honourably buried, as the remains of a man that had much merited from him. How he was the cause of the *Ionian* war, and what was his aim herein, hath been above related. On the breaking out of that Revolt, and the burning of *Sardis*, (z) *Darius* understanding, that *Aristagoras*, the Deputy of *Hestieus*, was at the Head of it, doubted not but that *Hestieus* himself was at the bottom of the whole contrivance, and therefore sent for him, and charged him with it; but he managed the matter so craftily with *Darius*, as to make him believe not only that he was innocent, but that the whole cause of this revolt was, that he was not there to have hindered it. For he told him, that the matter appeared plainly to have been long a brewing, and that they had waited only for his absence to put it in Execution, and that if he had continued at *Miletus*, it could never have happened, and that the only way to restore his affairs in those parts was to send him thither to appease these combustions, which he

(z) Herodot. lib. 5.

promised not only to do, but to deliver *Aristagoras* into his hands, and make the great Island of *Sardinia* to become Tributary to him, swearing, that if he were sent on this voyage, he would not change his Garments, 'till all were effected that he had said. By which fair Speech *Darius* being deceived (a) gave him permission to return into *Ionia*. On his arrival at *Sardis* his busy head set him at work to contrive a plot against the Government there, and he had drawn several of the *Persians* into it. But in some discourse which he had with *Artaphernes*, finding that he was no stranger to the part which he had acted in the *Ionian* Revolt, he thought it not safe for him any longer to tarry at *Sardis*, and therefore the next night after getting privately away he fled to the Sea Coast, and got over to the Island of *Chius*. But the *Chians* mistrusting, that his coming thither was to act some part for the interest of *Darius* among them, seized on his person, and put him in prison; but afterwards being satisfied, how he was engaged to the contrary, they set him again at liberty. Hereon he sent one, whom he had confidence in, with letters to *Sardis*, to those *Persians* whom he had corrupted while he was there, but the person, whom he trusted, deceiving him delivered the letters to *Artaphernes*, whereby the Plot being discovered, and all the persons concerned in it put to death, he failed of this design. But thinking still he could do great matters, were he at the head of the *Ionian* League, in order to the gaining of this point he got the *Chians* to convey him to *Miletus*. But the *Milestians* having had their Liberty restored to them by *Aristagoras* would by no means run the hazard of losing it again by receiving him into the City, whereon endeavouring in the night to enter by force, he was repulsed, and wounded, and thereby forced to return again to *Chius*. While he was there, being asked the reason why he so earnestly pressed *Aristagoras* to revolt, and thereby

(a) Herodot. lib. 6.

brought so great a calamity upon *Ionias*, he told them, it was, because the King had resolved to remove the *Ionians* into *Phœnicia*, and to bring the *Phœnicians* into *Ionias*, and give them that Country; which was wholly a fiction of his own devising; for *Darius* had never any such intention; but it very well served his purpose, first to excuse himself, and next to excite the *Ionians* with the greater firmness and vigour to prosecute the war, which accordingly had its effect. For the *Ionians* hearing, that their Country was to be taken from them, and given to the *Phœnicians*, were exceedingly alarmed at it, and therefore resolved with the utmost of their power to stand to their defence. However *Hestieus* finding the *Chians* not any way inclined to trust him with any of their naval forces, as he desired of them, he passed over to the Isle of *Lesbus*, and having there gained eight ships he sailed with them to *Byzantium*, where making prize of all the ships that passed the *Bosphorus* either to or from the *Euxin* Sea, excepting only such as belonged to those who were confederated with him, he did there in a short time grow to a great power. But on his hearing of the taking of *Miletus*, he left the conduct of his affairs in those parts to a Deputy, and sailed to *Chius*, and after some little opposition at his first landing made himself master of the Island, the *Chians* by reason of the loss they had lastly sustained in the Sea-fight against the *Persians* at *Lada* being too weak at that time to resist him. From thence he sailed with a great army of *Ionians* and *Æolians* to *Thasus*, an Island on the *Thracian* Coast, and laid siege to the chief City of that Island, but hearing that the *Phœnician* fleet in the service of the *Persians* was failed to take in the Islands on the *Asian* Coast, he raised the siege, and sailed back to *Lesbus* with all his forces to defend that place, from whence passing over into the Continent, which was opposite to it, to plunder that Country, *Harpagus* one of the *Persian* Generals, who happened then to be there with a great army, fell upon him, and having routed his

his forces, and taken him prisoner, sent him to *Sardis*, where he met with the fate which I have mentioned. He was a man of the best head, and the most enterprising Genius of any of his age, but he having wholly employed these abilities to lay plots and designs, which produced great mischiefs in the world, for the obtaining of little aims of his own, it happened to him, as most an end it doth to such refined Politicians, who, while they are spinning fine webbs of Politicks for the bringing about of their self-designs, often find them to become snares to their own destruction. For the Providence of the wisest of men being too short to over-reach the Providence of God, he often permits such *Achitophels* for the punishment of their presumption, as well as their malice, to perish by their own devices. And so it happened to *Machiavel*, the famous Master of our Modern Politicians, who after all his Politicks died in Jail for want of bread. And thus may it happen to all else, who make any other maxims than those of Truth and Justice to be the Rules of their Politics.

After the *Phœnician* fleet had subdued all the Islands on the *Asian* Coast, *Artaphernes* (b) sent them to reduce the *Hellepont*, that is all its Coasts on the *European* side, for those on the *Asian* had been already brought under by the Armies at Land. Which *Miltiades*, Prince of the *Thracian Chersonesus*, having advice of, and that the fleet was come as far as *Tenedos* to put these orders in execution, he thought not fit to tarry their arrival, as being too weak to resist so great a power, but immediately carried all that he had on board five ships, and set sail with them for *Athens*. But in his passage, one of them, commanded by *Metiochus* his eldest son, was taken by the *Phœnicians*, and *Metiochus* was carry'd to *Darius* to *Susa*, but instead of doing him any hurt he generously gave him a house, and Lands also for his maintenance, and married him to a *Persian* Lady,

Anno 495.
Darius 27.

(b) Herodot. lib. 6. Cornelius Nepos in *Miltiade*.

with

with whom he there lived in an honourable state all his life after, and never more returned into Greece. In the interim *Miltiades* with his other four ships got safe to *Athens*, and there again settled himself. For he was a Citizen of that City, and one of the most honourable Families in it. *Miltiades*, his Father *Cimon's* eldest Brother by the same mother (for they had different fathers) was the first of the *Athenians*, that settled in the *Thracian Chersonesus*, being called thither by the *Dolones*, the Inhabitants of the Country, to be their Prince, who dying without issue left his principality to *Stesagoras* his Nephew, the eldest son of his Brother *Cimon*; he dying also without children, the sons of *Pisistratus*, who then governed at *Athens*, sent this *Miltiades* his Brother thither to succeed him, where he arrived and settled himself in that year in which *Darius* entered on his war against the *Scythians*, in which Expedition he accompanied him with his ships to the *Danube*, as hath been above said. Three years after he was driven out by the *Scythians*, but being afterwards brought back and restored again by the *Dolones*, he continued there till this time, and then was finally dispossessed by the *Phenicians*. While he lived in the *Chersonesus*, he married for his second wife *Hegefipyla* the daughter of *Olorus*, a *Thracian* King in the Neighbourhood, by whom (c) he had *Cimon*, the famous General of the *Athenians*. After the death of *Miltiades* she had by a second husband a Son called also *Olorus* by the name of his Grandfather, who was the Father of *Thucydides* the Historian. She could not have had them both by the same Husband, for *Cimon* and *Thucydides*, and consequently *Olorus*, were of two different Tribes, and therefore they could not be both descended from *Miltiades*.

Darius recalling all his other Generals (d) sent
 Anno 494. *Mardonius*, the son of *Gobrias*, a young Per-
 Darius 28. *sian* Nobleman, who had lately married one

(c) Plutarchus in Cimone.

(d) Herodotus lib. 6.

of his daughters, to be the chief commander in all the maritim parts of *Asia*, with orders to invade *Greece*, and revenge him on the *Athenians* and *Eretrians* for the burning of *Sardis*. On his arrival at the *Hellepont*, all his forces being there rendezvoused for the Execution of these orders, he marched with his Land forces through *Thrace* into *Macedonia*, ordering his Fleet first to take in *Thasus*, and then follow after him, and coast it by Sea, as he marched by Land, that each might be at hand to act in concert with each other for the prosecuting of the end proposed by this War. On his arrival in *Macedonia* all that Country dreading so great a power submitted to him. But the Fleet after they had subdued *Thasus*, as they were passing farther on towards the Coasts of *Macedonia*, on their doubling of the Cape of Mount *Athos*, now called *Capo Santo*, met there with a terrible Storm, which destroyed three hundred of their Ships, and above twenty thousand of their Men. And at the same time *Mardonius* fell into no less a misfortune by Land. For lying with his Army in an Encampment not sufficiently secured, the *Thracians* took the advantage of it, and falling on him in the night broke into his Camp, and slew a great number of his Men, and wounded *Mardonius* himself; by which losses being disabled for any farther Action, either by Sea or Land, he was forced to march back again into *Asia*, without gaining any honour or advantage, either to himself, or the King's affairs, by this Expedition.

Darius, before he would make any farther attempt upon the *Grecians*, (e) to make tryal which of them would submit to him, and which Anno 493.
Darius 29. would not, sent Heralds to all their Cities to demand Earth and Water, which was the form whereby the *Persians* used to require the submission of those whom they would have yield to them. On the arrival of these Heralds several of the *Grecian* Cities dreading the power of the *Persians* did as was re-

(e) Herodotus lib. 7.

quired of them. But when those, who were sent to *Athens* and *Lacedæmon*, came thither with this Commission, they flung them, the one into a well, and the other into a deep pit, and bid them fetch Earth and Water thence. But this being done in the heat of their rage, they repented of it, when come to a cooler Temper. For thus to put Heralds to death was a violation of the Law of Nations, for which they were afterwards condemned even by themselves, as well as all their Neighbours, and would gladly have made any satisfaction for the wrong, that would have been accepted of, and the *Lacedæmonians* sent a person of purpose to *Susa* to make an offer hereof.

Darius on the hearing of the ill Success of *Mardonius*, suspecting the sufficiency of his conduct (f) recalled him from his Command, and sent two other Generals in his stead to prosecute the war against the *Grecians*, *Datis* a *Median*, and *Artaphernes* a *Persian*, the son of that *Artaphernes* his Brother, who was lately Governour of *Sardis*, and gave them particularly in charge not to fail of executing his revenge on the *Athenians*, and the *Eretrians*, whom he could never forgive for the part which they had in the burning of *Sardis*. On their arrival on the Coasts of *Ionia* they there drew together an army of three hundred thousand men, and a Fleet of six hundred Ships, and made the best preparations they could for this Expedition against the *Grecians*.

In the beginning of the next spring (g) the two *Persian* Generals having ship'd their Army rendezvoused their whole Fleet at *Samos*, and from thence sailed to *Naxos*, and having there burned the chief City of the Island, and all their Temples, and taken in all the other Islands in those Seas, they shaped their Course directly for

(f) Herodot. lib. 6. Plutarchus in Aristide. Cornelius Nepos in Miltiade.

(g) Herodot. lib. 6. Plutarchus in Aristide & Themistocle. Cornelius Nepos in Miltiade.

Eretria, and after a Siege of seven days took the City by the Treachery of some of its chief Inhabitants, and burnt it to the ground, making all that they found in it Captives. And then passing over into *Attica* they were led by the guidance of *Hippias*, the late Tyrant of *Athens*, into the plain of *Marathon*, where being met and fought with by ten thousand *Athenians*, and one thousand *Plateans*, under the leading of *Miltiades*, who was lately Prince of the *Thracian Chersonesus*, they were there overthrown by this small number with a great slaughter, and forced to retreat to their Ships, and sail back again into *Asia* with baffle and disgrace, having lost in this Expedition, (b) saith *Trogus*, by the sword, shipwrack and otherways two hundred thousand men. But (i) *Herodotus* tells us, they were no more than six thousand four hundred that were slain in the Field of Battel, of which *Hippias* was one, who was the chief exciter and conductor of this War.

Datis and *Artaphernes* on their return into *Asia*, (k) that they might shew some fruit of this Expedition, sent the *Eretrians* they had taken to *Darius* to *Susa*, who without doing them any farther Harm sent them to dwell in a village of the Region of *Cissia*, which was at the distance of about a day's journey from *Susa*, (l) where *Apollonius Tyaneus* found their descendants still remaining a great many ages after.

Darius, (m) on his hearing of the unsuccessful return of his forces from *Attica*, instead of being discouraged by that, or the other disasters, that had hapned unto him in his attempts upon the *Grecians*, added the defeat of *Marathon* to the burning of *Sardis*, as a new Cause to excite him with the greater vigour to carry on the war against them. And therefore resolving in person to make an Invasion upon them with all his power, he

Anno 490.
Darius 32.

(b) Justin lib. 2. c. 9.
lib. 6.

(i) Herodot. lib. 6.

(l) Philostratus lib. 1. c. 17.

(k) Herodot.

(m) Herodot. lib. 7.

sent

sent Orders thorough all the Provinces to arm the whole Empire for it. But, after three years had been spent in making these preparations, a new
Anno 487. War broke out in the fourth by the Re-
Darius 35. volt of the *Egyptians*. But *Darius's* heart was so earnestly set against the *Grecians*, that resolving his new Rebels should not divert him from executing his wrath upon his old enemies, he determined to make war against them both at the same time, and that, while part of his Forces were sent to reduce *Egypt*, he would in person with the rest fall upon *Greece*. But he being now an old man, and there being a Controversy between two of his Sons, to which of them two the Succession did belong, it was thought convenient that the matter should be determined before he did set out on this Expedition, lest otherwise on his death it might cause a civil war in the Empire. For the preventing of which, it was an ancient usage among the *Persians*, that, before their King went out to any dangerous War, his Successor should be declared. The matter in Dispute (*n*) stood thus. *Darius* had three sons by his first wife, the daughter of *Gobrias*, all born before his advancement to the Throne, and four others by *Atossa*, the daughter of *Cyrus*, who were all born after it. Of the first *Artabasan* (who is by some called *Artimenes* and by others *Ariamenes*) was the eldest, and of the latter *Xerxes*. *Artabasan* urged, that he was the eldest Son, and therefore according to the usage and custom of all Nations, he ought to be preferred in the Succession before the younger. To this *Xerxes* replied, that he was the son of *Darius* by *Atossa*, the daughter of *Cyrus*, who was the first founder of the *Persian* Empire, and therefore claimed in her right to succeed his father in it, and that it was much more agreeable to justice, that the Crown of *Cyrus* should come to a descendant of *Cyrus*, than to one, who was

(*n*) Herodotus lib. 7. Justin lib. 2. c. 10. Plutarchus in Artaxerxe & in Apophthegm, πρὸς φιλαδέλφιας.

not. And he farther added, that it was true, *Artabasan*es was the eldest son of *Darius*, but that he was the eldest son of the King. For *Artabasan*es was born, while his father was only a private person, and therefore by that primogeniture could claim no more than to be Heir to his private fortunes: But as to him, he was the first-born after his father was King, and therefore had the best right to succeed him in the Kingdom. And for this he had an instance from the *Lacedæmonians*, with whom it was the usage, that the sons of their Kings, who were born after their advancement to the Throne, should succeed before those, who were born before it. And this last argument he was helped to by *Damaratus*, formerly King of *Lacedæmon*, who having been unjustly deposed by his Subjects was then an exile in the *Persian* Court. Hereupon *Xerxes* was declared the Successor, though not so much by the strength of his Plea, as by the influence which his mother *Atossa* had over the inclinations of *Darius*, who was absolutely governed in this matter by the authority she had with him. That which was most remarkable in this contest was the friendly and amicable manner, with which it was managed. For during the whole time that it lasted, all the marks of a most entire fraternal affection passed between the two Brothers. And when it was decided, as the one did not insult, so neither did the other repine or express any anger or discontent on the judgment given, and although the elder Brother lost the cause, yet he chearfully submitted to the determination, wished his Brother Joy, and without diminishing his friendship or affection to him, ever after adhered to his Interest, and at last died in his Service, being slain fighting for him in the *Grecian* war, which is an example very rarely to be met with, where so great a prize is at stake, as that of a Crown; the ambitious desire of which is usually of that force with the most of mankind, as to make them break thorough all other considerations whatsoever, where

there is any the least pretence to it, to reach the attainment.

After the Succession was thus settled, and all were ready to set out both for the *Egyptian*, as *Anno 486.* well as the *Grecian* war, (o) *Darius* fell sick *Darius 36.* and died in the second year after the *Egyptian* Revolt, having then reigned (p) six and thirty years, and *Xerxes* according to the late determination quietly succeeded in the Throne. There are writers, (q) who place this determination after the death of *Darius*, and say that it was settled by the judgment of *Artabanus* uncle to the two contending Princes, who was made the Arbitrator between them in this Contest. But *Herodotus*, who lived the nearest those times of all that have written of it, positively tells us, that it was decided by *Darius* himself a little before his death. And his Decision being that, which was most likely to have the greatest authority in this matter, *Herodotus's* account of it seemeth the much more probable of the two.

Darius was a Prince of Wisdom, Clemency, and Justice, and hath the honour (r) to have his name recorded in Holy writ for a favourer of God's people, a restorer of his Temple at *Jerusalem*, and a promoter of his worship therein; For all which God was pleased to make him his Instrument, and in respect hereof, I doubt not, it was, that he blessed him with a numerous Issue, a long reign, and great prosperity. For although he were not altogether so fortunate in his wars against the *Scythians*, and the *Grecians*, yet every where else he had full Success in all his undertakings, and not only restored and thoroughly settled the Empire of *Cyrus*, after it had been much shaken by *Cambyfes* and the *Magian*, but also added many large and rich Provinces to it, especially those

(o) *Herodotus* lib. 7. (p) *Ptolem.* in *Canone*, *Africanus*, *Euseb.* &c.
 (q) *Justin* lib. 2. c. 10. *Plutarchus* περὶ οὐρανοῦ καὶ κόσμου. (r) *Ezra* v.
 and in the Prophecies of *Haggai* and *Zechariah*.

of *India, Thrace, Macedon*, and the Isles of the *Ionian Sea*.

The *Jews* (s) have a Tradition, that in the last year of *Darius* died the Prophets *Haggai, Zechariah*, and *Malachi*, and that thereon ceased the Spirit of Prophecy from among the children of *Israel*, and that this was the obsignation or sealing up of Vision and Prophecy spoken of by the Prophet (t) *Daniel*. And from the same Tradition they tell us, that the Kingdom of the *Persians* ceased also the same year. For they will have it, that this was the *Darius* whom *Alexander* conquered, and that the whole continuance of the *Persian* Empire was only fifty two years, which they reckon thus. *Darius the Median* reigned one year, *Cyrus* three years, *Cambyfes* (who they say was the *Abasuerus*, who married *Esther*) sixteen years, and *Darius* (whom they will have to be the Son of *Esther*) thirty two years. And this last *Darius* according to them was the *Artaxerxes*, who sent *Ezra* and *Nebemiah* to *Jerusalem* to restore the State of the *Jews*. For they tell us that *Artaxerxes* among the *Persians* was the common name of their Kings, as that of *Pharoah* was among the *Egyptians*. This shews how ill they have been acquainted with the affairs of the *Persian* Empire. And their Countryman *Josephus*, in the account which he gives of those times, seems to have been but very little better informed concerning them.

In the time of his reign first appeared in *Persia* the famous Prophet of the Magians, whom the *Persians* call *Zerdusht* or *Zaratusht*, and the *Greeks* *Zoroastres*. The *Greek* and *Latin* writers much differ about him, some of them (u) will have it, that he lived many ages before, and was King of *Bactria*, and others that there were (w) two of that name who lived in diffe-

(s) Abraham Zacutus in *Juchasin*. David Ganz in *Zemach David*. Seder Olam Zuta, &c. (t) Daniel ix. 24. (u) Justin lib. 1.

c. 1. Diogenes Laertius in *Proemio*. Plin. lib. 30. c. 1. (w) Plin. lib. 30. c. 1. See Stanley of the *Chaldaic Philosophy*, ch. 2.

rent ages one long before the other, both famous in the same kind. But the Oriental writers (x) all unanimously agree, that there was but one *Zerduſht*, or *Zoroaſtres*, and that the time in which he flouriſhed, was while *Darius Hyſtaſpis* was King of *Persia*. It's certain he was no King, but one born of mean and obſcure parentage, who did raiſe himſelf wholly by his craft in carrying on that Impoſture, with which he deceived the world. They who place him ſo high as the time of *Ninus*, by whom, they ſay, he was ſlain in battle, follow the Authority of *Juſtin* for it. But (y) *Diodorus Siculus* out of *Cteſias* tells us, that the King of *Bactria*, with whom *Ninus* had war, was called *Oxyartes*; and there are ſome ancient Manuscripts of *Juſtin* (z) in which it is read *Oxyatres*, and perchance that was the genuine reading, and *Zoroaſtres* came into the Text inſtead of it by the Error of the Copier, led thereto perchance by a note in the Margin placed there by ſome Critic, who from the Character of the perſon took upon him to alter the name. For he is there ſaid *Artes Magicas primo inveniffe*, i. e. *That he was the firſt inventer of Magiſm*, which *Zoroaſtres* only was generally taken to be, though in truth he was not the Founder of that ſect, but only the Reſtorer and Reformer of it, as ſhall be hereafter ſhewn.

He was the greateſt Impoſtor, except *Mahomet*, that ever appeared in the world, and had all the craft and enterpriſing boldneſs of that *Arab*, but much more knowledge. For he was excellently ſkill'd in all the Learning of the Eaſt, that was in his time; whereas the other could neither write nor read; and particularly he was thoroughly verſed in the *Jewiſh* Religion, and in all the Sacred writings of the old Teſtament, that were then extant, which makes it moſt likely, that he was as to his Origin a *Jew*. And

(x) Abulfaragius, Iſhmael Abulfeda, Shareſtani, &c. vide etiam Agathiam lib. 2. & Thomam Hyde De Religione veterum Perſarum cap. 24.

(y) Lib. 2. p. 94.

(z) So ſaith Ligerius.

it is generally said of him, that he had been a servant to one of the Prophets of *Israel*, and that it was by this means, that he came to be so well skill'd in the Holy Scriptures, and all other Jewish Knowledge, which is a farther proof, that he was of that people, it not being likely that a Prophet of *Israel* should entertain him as a servant, or instruct him as a Disciple, if he were not of the same seed of *Israel*, as well as of the same Religion with him; and that especially since it was the usage of that people by principle of Religion, as well as by long received custom among them, to separate themselves from all other Nations, as far as they were able. And it is farther to be taken notice of, that most of those who speak of his Original, (a) say that he was of *Palestine*, within which Country the Land of *Judea* was. And all this put together amounts with me to a convincing proof, that he was first a *Jew*, and that by birth, as well as Religion, before he took upon him to be Prophet of the Magian Sect.

The Prophet of *Israel* to whom he was a servant, some (b) say was *Elias*, and (c) others *Ezra*; But as the former was too early, so the other was too late for the time in which he lived; with this best agreeeth, what is said by a third sort of Writers, (d) that it was one of the Disciples of *Jeremiah*, with whom he served, and if so it must have been either *Ezekiel*, or *Daniel*. For besides these two there was no other Prophet of *Israel* in those times, who could have been of the Disciples of *Jeremiah*. And as *Daniel* was of age sufficient at his carrying away to *Babylon* (he having been then about eighteen years old) to have been some time before under the Disciple and tutelage of that Prophet, so having continued till about the end of the reign of *Cyrus*, he lived long

(a) Religio veterum Persarum per Thomam Hyde. c. 24. (b) Abulfaragius p. 54. (c) Abu Mohammed Mustapha Historicus Arabs. Religio veterum Persarum cap. 24. p. 313. (d) Bundari ex Abu Japhar Tabarita Historico Arabe. Relig. vet. Pers. c. 24. p. 314.

enough to have been contemporary with this Impostor, which cannot be said of *Ezekiel*. For we hear nothing more of him after the twenty seventh year of the Captivity of *Jehoiachin*, which was the year next after the taking of *Tyre* by *Nebuchadnezzar*. And therefore it is most likely, that he lived not much beyond that time. It must therefore be *Daniel*, under whom this Impostor served, and besides him there was not any other master in those times, under whom he could acquire all that knowledge both in things sacred and prophane, which he was so well furnished with. And no doubt his seeing that great, good, and wise man, arrive to such an height, and dignity in the Empire by being a true Prophet of God, was that, which did set this crafty wretch upon the design of being a false one, hoping that by acting this part well he might obtain the same advancement, and by pretending to that which the other really was, arrive to the like honour and greatness; and it must be said, that by his craft and dexterity in managing this pretence he wonderfully succeeded in what he aimed at. It is said, that while he served the Prophet, under whom he was bred, he did by some evil action (e) draw on him his Curse, and that thereon he was smitten with Leprosy. But they, who tell us this, seem to be such, who finding *Eliab* said to be his master mistook *Elisha* for *Eliab*, and therefore thought *Gebazi* to have been the person.

He did not found a new Religion, as his Successor in Imposture *Mahomet* did, but (f) only took upon him to revive, and reform an old one, that of the Magians, which had been for many ages past the ancient National Religion of the *Medes* as well as of the *Persians*. For it having fallen under disgrace on

(e) Migidi Persa. Bundari. Abu Mohammed Mustapha. Religio vet. Pers. c. 24. p. 313, 114, 115. (f) Vide Pocockii Specimen Historiæ Arabicæ p. 147, 148, 149. Et Thomam Hyde de Religione veterum Persarum.

the death of those ringleaders of that Sect, who had usurped the Sovereignty after the death of *Cambyfes*, and the slaughter which was then made of all the chief men among them, it sunk so low, that it became almost extinct, and *Sabianism* every where prevailed against it, *Darius* and most of his followers on that occasion going over to it. But the affection, which the people had for the Religion of their forefathers, and which they had been all brought up in, not being easily to be rooted out, *Zoroastres* saw, that the revival of this was the best game of Imposture that he could then play, and having so good an old stock to graft upon, he did with the greater ease make all his new scions to grow, which he inserted into it.

He first (g) made his appearance in *Media*, now called *Aderbijan*, in the City of *Xiz* say some; in that of *Ecbatana*, now *Tauris*, say others. For *Smerdis* having been of that Province, it is most likely, that the Sect, which he was of, had still there its best rooting. And therefore the Impostor thought he might in those parts with the best success attempt the revival of it. And his first appearing here is that, which I suppose hath given some the handle to assert, that this was the Country in which he was born.

The Chief Reformation, which he made in the Magian Religion, (h) was in the first principle of it. For whereas before they had held the being of two first Causes, the first Light, or the good God, who was the Author of all good; and the other Darkness, or the evil God, who was the Author of all evil; and that of the mixture of these two, as they were in a continual struggle with each other, all things were made, he introduced a principle superior to them both, one supreme God, who created both

(g) Bundari. Abu Japhar Tabarita. Religio vet. Pers. c. 24. Golii Notæ in Alfraganum p. 207, & 227. (h) Abul Feda. Ebn Shahna. Pocockii Specimen Historiæ Arab. p. 147, 148. Religio vet. Pers. cap. 9. p. 163. & cap. 22. p. 299.

light and darkness, and out of these two, according to the alone pleasure of his own will, made all things else that are, according to what is said in the 45th Chapter of *Isaiab*, v. 5, 6, 7. *I am the Lord and there is none else; there is no God besides me; I girded thee, though thou hast not known me, that they may know from the rising of the Sun, and from the West, that there is none besides me. I am the Lord, and there is none else. I form the light and create darkness, I make peace and create evil. I the Lord do all these things.* For these words being directed to *Cyrus* King of *Persia*, must be understood as spoken in reference to the *Persian* Sect of the Magians, who then held light and darkness, or Good and Evil, to be the supreme beings, without acknowledging the great God, who is superior to both. And I doubt not it was from hence that *Zoroastres* had the hint of mending this great absurdity in their Theology. But to avoid making God the Author of Evil, his Doctrine was, (i) that God originally and directly created only light or good, and that darkness or evil followed it by consequence, as the shadow doth the person, that Light or Good had only a real production from God, and the other afterwards resulted from it, as the defect thereof. In sum, his doctrine as to this particular was, (k) that there was one supreme Being independent and self-existing from all eternity. That (l) under him there were two Angels, one the Angel of light, who is the Author and Director of all Good; and the other the Angel of darkness, who is the Author and Director of all evil; and that these two out of the mixture of light and darkness made all things that are; That they are in a perpetual struggle with each other; and that where the Angel of Light prevails, there the most is good, and where the Angel of Darkness prevails, there the most is evil; That

(i) Shahrīstāni. *Religio vet. Persarum* c. 22. p. 299. (k) Abulfeda. *Shahrīstāni. Relig. vet. Pers.* c. 22. (l) *Religio veterum Persarum* c. 9. p. 163. Pocockii *Specimen Historiæ Arabicæ* p. 148.

this struggle shall continue to the end of the world; That (*m*) then there shall be a General Resurrection, and (*n*) a day of Judgment, wherein just retribution shall be rendred to all according to their works. After which (*o*) the Angel of Darknes and his Disciples shall go into a world of their own, where they shall suffer in everlasting darkness the punishments of their evil deeds. And the Angel of light and his Disciples shall also go into a world of their own, where they shall receive in everlasting light the reward due unto their good deeds, and that after this they shall remain separated for ever, and light and darkness be no more mixed together to all eternity. And (*p*) all this the remainder of that Sect, which is now in *Persia* and *India*, do without any variation after so many ages still hold even to this day. And how consonant this is to the truth is plain enough to be understood without a Comment. And whereas he taught, that God originally created the good Angel only, and that the other followed only by the defect of good, this plainly shews that he was not unacquainted with the Revolt of the fallen Angels, and the entrance of Evil into the world that way, but had been thoroughly instructed how that God at first created all his Angels good, as he also did man, and that they that are now evil became such wholly thro' their own fault in falling from that state, which God first placed them in. All which plainly shews the Author of this Doctrine to have been well versed in the sacred writings of the *Jewish* Religion, out of which it manifestly appears to have been all taken, only the crafty Impostor took care to dress it up in such a stile and form, as would make it best agree

(*m*) Diogenes Laertius in Proœmio. Plutarchus in *Iside & Osiride*. Shabristani. Relig. vet. Pers. c. 22. p. 296. (*n*) Relig. vet. Pers. c. 33.
 (*o*) Shabristani. Plutarchus de *Iside & Osiride*. Relig. vet. Pers. p. 299. 395. &c. (*p*) Relig. vet. Pers. c. 22. p. 292, 293. Ovington's *Travels*.

with that old Religion of the *Medes* and *Persians*, which he grafted it upon.

Another Reformation, which he made in the *Magian* Religion, was, (*q*) that he caused fire-temples to be built wherever he came. For whereas hitherto they had erected their Altars, on which their sacred fire was kept, on the tops of Hills, and on high places in the open air, and there performed all the offices of their religious Worship, where often by Rain, Tempests, and Storms, the sacred Fire was extinguished, and the holy offices of their Religion interrupted and disturbed, for the preventing of this he directed, that wherever any of those Altars were erected, Temples should be built over them, that so the sacred fires might be the better preserved, and the publick offices of their Religion the better performed before them. For all the parts of their publick Worship were performed before these publick sacred Fires, as all their private Devotions were before private Fires in their own houses, not that they worshipped the Fire (for this they always disowned) but God in the Fire. For (*r*) *Zoroastres* among other his Impostures having feigned, that he was taken up into Heaven, there to be instructed in those Doctrines, which he was to deliver unto Men, he pretended not (as *Mahomet* after did) there to have seen God, but only to have heard him speaking to him out of the midst of a great and most bright flame of Fire, and therefore taught his Followers, that Fire was the truest *Shecinah* of the divine Presence; That the Sun being the perfectest fire, God had there (*s*) the throne of his Glory, and the residence of his divine Presence, in a more excellent manner, than any where else, and next that in the elementary Fire with us; and for this reason he or-

(*q*) Relig. vet. Pers. c. 1. c. 8. & c. 29. (*r*) Religio veterum Persarum, c. 8. p. 160. (*s*) Sanson in the present State of Persia, p. 185. Religio veterum Persarum, c. 4.

dered them still to direct all their worship to God first towards the Sun (which they called *Mithra*) and next towards their sacred Fires, as being the things, in which God chiefly dwelt, and their ordinary way of worship was to do so towards both. For when they came before these Fires to worship, they always approached them on the west side, that having their faces towards them, and also towards the rising Sun at the same time, they might direct their worship towards both. And in this posture they always performed every act of their worship. But this was not a new Institution of his. For thus to worship before Fire and the Sun, was, as hath been said, the ancient usage of that Sect, and according hereto is it, that we are to understand what we find in the sixteenth verse of the eighth Chapter of *Ezekiel*, where it is related, that the Prophet being carried in a vision to *Jerusalem* to see the Abominations of that place, among other Impieties had there shewn him *about five and twenty men standing between the Porch and the Altar with their backs towards the Temple of the Lord, and their faces towards the East, and they worshipped the Sun.* The meaning of which is, that they had turned their backs upon the true worship of God, and had gone over to that of the *Magians*. For the Holy of Holies (in which was the *Shecinah* of the divine Presence resting over the Mercy Seat) being on the western end of the Temple at *Jerusalem*, all that entered thither to worship God, did it with their faces turned that way. For that was their (*s*) *Kebla*, or the point towards which they always directed their worship. But the *Kebla* of the *Magians* being the rising Sun, they always worshipped with their faces turned that way, that is towards the East. And therefore these five and

(*s*) *Kebla* among the Eastern Nations signifyeth the point of the Heavens, towards which they directed their worship. The Jews did it towards the Temple at *Jerusalem*, the Mahometans towards *Mecca*, the Sabians towards the Meridian, and the *Magians* towards the Rising Sun.

twenty men by altering their *Kebla* are shewn to have altered their Religion, and instead of worshipping God according to the *Jewish* Religion, to have gone over to the Religion and Worship of the *Magians*.

Zoroastres having thus retained in his Reformation of *Magianism* the ancient usage of that Sect in worshipping God before Fire, to give the sacred Fires in the Temples which he had erected the greater veneration, he pretended, that when he was in Heaven, and there heard God speaking to him out of the midst of Fire, he (t) brought thence some of that Fire with him on his return, and placed it on the Altar of the first Fire-Temple that he erected (which was that (u) at *Xiz* in *Media*) from whence they say it was propagated to all the rest. And this is the reason, which is given for their so careful keeping of it. (w) For their Priests watch it day and night, and never (x) suffer it to go out or be extinguished. And for the same reason also they did treat it with that superstition, that they fed it only with (y) wood stripped of its bark, and of that sort, which they thought most clean, and they never (y) did blow it either with bellows or with their breath, for fear of polluting it, and to do this either of those ways, or to cast any unclean thing into it, was no less than death by the Law of the Land, as long as those of that Sect reigned in it, which from the time of *Zoroastres* to the death of *Yazdegerd*, the last *Persian* King of the *Magian* Religion, was about eleven hundred and fifty years; yea it went so far, (z) that the Priests themselves never approached this Fire, but with a cloth over their mouths, that they might not breath thereon; and this they did not only when

(t) *Religio veterum Persarum*, c. 8. p. 160. (u) *Golii notæ ad Alfraganum*, p. 227. (w) *Strabo*, lib. 15. *Ammianus Marcellinus*, lib. 23. *Agathias*, lib. 2. (x) *Religio veterum Persarum*, c. 28. p. 351. & c. 29. p. 355. (y) *Strabo*, lib. 15. *Relig. vet. Pers.* *ibid.* (z) *Strabo*, lib. 15. p. 732. *Religio veterum Persarum*, cap. 30.

they tended the Fire to lay more wood thereon, or do any other service about it, but also when they approached it to read the daily offices of their Liturgy before it. So that they mumbled over their Prayers, rather than spoke them, in the same manner as the *Popish* Priests do their Masses, without letting the people present articulately hear one word of what they said, and if they should hear them, they would now as badly understand them. For all their public Prayers are even to this day in the old *Persian* Language, in which *Zoroastres* first composed them above two thousand two hundred years since, of which the common people do not now understand one word. And in this absurdity also have they the *Romanists* partakers with them. When *Zoroastres* composed his Liturgy the old *Persic* was then indeed the vulgar language of all those Countries, where this Liturgy was used. And so was the *Latin* throughout all the western Empire, when the *Latin* Service was first used therein. But when the Language changed they would not consider, that the change which was made thereby in the reason of the thing, did require that a change should be made in their Liturgy also, but retained it the same, after it ceased to be understood, as it was before. So it was the superstitious folly of adhering to old establishments against reason, that produced this Absurdity in both of them, though it must be acknowledged that the *Magians* have more to say for themselves in this matter, than the *Romanists*. For they are taught, that their Liturgy was brought them from Heaven, which the others do not believe of theirs, tho' they stick to it, as if it were. And if that stiffness of humour, which is now among too many of us against altering any thing in our Liturgy, should continue, it must at last bring us to the same pass. For all Languages being in *Fluxu*, they do in every age alter from what they were in the former, and therefore as we do not now understand the *English*, which was here spoken by our Ancestors three or four hundred

dred years ago, so in all likelihood will not our posterity three or four hundred years hence understand that, which is now spoken by us. And therefore should our Liturgy be still continued without any change or alteration, it will then be as much in an unknown Language, as now the *Roman Service* is to the vulgar of that Communion.

But to return to the Reformations of *Zoroastres*; How much he followed the *Jewish* Platform in the framing of them doth manifestly appear from the Particulars I have mentioned. For most of them were taken either from the sacred writings or the sacred usages of that People. *Moses* heard God speaking to him out of a flame of fire from the Bush, and all *Israel* heard him speaking to them in the same manner out of the midst of fire from mount *Sinai*. Hence *Zoroastres* pretended to have heard God speaking to him also out of the midst of a flame of Fire. The *Jews* had a visible *Shecinah* of the divine Presence among them resting over the Mercy-Seat in the Holy of Holies, both in their Tabernacle, and Temple, toward which they offered up all their prayers, and therefore *Zoroastres* taught his *Magians* to pretend to the like, and to hold the Sun, and the sacred Fires in their Fire-temples, to be this *Shecinah* in which God especially dwelt, and for this reason they offered up all their prayers to him with their faces turned towards both. The *Jews* had a sacred Fire, which came down from Heaven upon their Altar of Burnt-Offerings, which they did there ever after, till the destruction of *Jerusalem* by the *Chaldeans*, inextinguishably maintain, and with this fire only were all their Sacrifices and Oblations made, and *Nadab* and *Abihu* were punished with death for offering Incense to God with other fire. And in like manner *Zoroastres* pretended to have brought his holy Fire from Heaven, and therefore commanded it to be kept with the same care. And to kindle fire on the Altar of any new erected Fire-temple, or to re-kindle it on any such Altar, where it had been by any unavoidable

voidable accident extinguished, from any other Fire, than from one of the sacred Fires in some other Temple, or else from the Sun, was reckoned a crime to be punished in the same manner. And whereas great care was taken, among the *Jews*, (a) that no wood should be used on their Altar in the Temple, but that which they reputed clean, and for this reason they had it all barked and examined before it was laid on; And that when it was laid on, the Fire should never be blowed up either with bellows or the breath of man for the kindling of it; hence *Zoroastres* (b) ordained both these particulars to be also observed in respect of his sacred Fire among his *Magians*, commanding them to use only barked wood for the maintaining of it, and no other means for the kindling of it up into a flame, but the pouring on of Oyl, and the blasts of the open air. And that he should in so many things write after the *Jewish* Religion, or have been so well informed therein, can scarce seem probable, if he had not been first educated, and brought up in it.

Zoroastres having thus taken upon him to be a Prophet of God sent to reform the old Religion of the *Persians*, to gain the better reputation to his pretensions (c) he retired into a cave, and there lived a long time, as a Recluse, pretending to be abstracted from all worldly considerations, and to be given wholly to prayer and divine meditations; and the more to amuse the people, who there resorted to him, he dressed up his Cave with several mystical Figures representing *Mithra*, and other mysteries of their Religion, from whence it became for a long while after a usage among them to chuse such Caves for their Devotions, which being dressed up in the same manner were called *Mithratic* Caves. While he was in this retirement he composed the Book, where-

(a) See Lightfoot's *Temple Service*. (b) *Religio veterum Persarum*, c. 29. & c. 30. (c) Porphyrius in libro de *Nympharum Antro*, p. 254. Edit. Cant.

in all his pretended Revelations are contained, which shall be hereafter spoken of. And *Mahomet* exactly followed his example herein. For he also retired to a Cave some time before he broached his Imposture, and by the help of his Accomplices there formed the *Alcoran*, wherein it is contained. And (d) *Pythagoras* on his return from *Babylon* to *Samos*, in imitation of his master *Zoroastres* (whom (e) *Clemens Alexandrinus* tells us he emulously followed) had there in like manner his Cave to which he retired, and wherein he mostly abided both day and night, and for the same end as *Zoroastres* did in his, that is to get himself the greater veneration from the people. For *Pythagoras* acted a part of Imposture as well as *Zoroastres*, and this perchance he also learnt from him.

After he had thus acted the part of a Prophet in *Media*, and there settled all things according to his intentions, he removed from thence into (f) *Bactria*, the most Eastern Province of *Persia*, and there settled in the City of *Balch*, which lies on the River *Oxus* in the Confines of *Persia*, *India*, and *Cowaresmia*, where under the Protection of *Hystaspes*, the father of *Darius*, he soon spread his Imposture through all that Province with great success. For although *Darius* after the slaughter of the *Magians* had with most of his followers gone over to the Sect of the *Sabians*, yet *Hystaspes* still adhered to the Religion of his Ancestors, and having fixed his residence at *Balch* (where it may be supposed he governed those parts of the Empire under his Son) did there support and promote it to the utmost of his power. And in order to give it the greater reputation (g) he went in Person into *India* among the *Brachmans*, and having there learned from them all their knowledge in *Mathematicks*, *Astronomy*, and *Natural Philosophy*, he brought it

(d) Porphyrius in vita Pythagoræ, p. 184. Edit. Cantab. Jamblicus in vita Pythagoræ, cap. 5. (e) Strom. 1. p. 223. (f) Abu Japhar Tabarita. Bundari. Relig. vet. Pers. c. 24. (g) Ammianus Marcellinus, lib. 23.

back among his *Magians*, and thoroughly instructed them in it. And they continued for many ages after above all others of those times skilful in these Sciences, especially after they had been farther instructed in them by *Zoroastres*, who was the greatest Mathematician, and the greatest Philosopher of the age in which he lived, and therefore took care to improve his Sect not only in their Religion, but also in all natural knowledge, which so much advanced their credit in the world that thenceforth a learned Man and a *Magian* became Equivalent Terms. And this proceeded so far that the vulgar looking on their knowledge to be more than natural, entertained an opinion of them, as if they had been actuated and inspired by Supernatural Powers, in the same manner as too frequently among us ignorant people are apt give great Scholars and such as are learned beyond their Comprehensions (as were *Friar Bacon*, (b) *Dr. Faustus*, and (i) *Cornelius Agrippa*) the name of Conjurers. And from hence those who really practised wicked and Diabolical Arts, or would be thought to do so, taking the name of *Magians*, drew on it that ill Signification which now the word *Magician* bears among us, whereas the true and ancient *Magians* (k) were the great Mathematicians, Philosophers, and Divines of the ages, in which they lived, and had no other knowledge, but what by their own study, and

(b) *John Faustus was the first inventor of Printing at Mentz, and from thence being taken for a Conjuror, that story is here in England made of him, which goes under the name of Dr. Faustus.* (i) *That, which contributes most, to the opinion, that Cornelius Agrippa was a Magician, is an impertinent Piece published under his name, entituled the fourth Book De Occulta Philosophia, which that learned man was never the Author of. For it is not to be found in the Folio Edition of his works, in which only those that are genuine and truly his are contained.* (k) *Dion Chrysostomus tells us (in Oratione Borysthenicâ) that the Persians call them Magians, who are skilled in the worship of the Gods, and not as the Greeks, who being ignorant of the meaning of the word, called them so, who were skilful in Goetic Magick, i. e. That which jugglers and conjurers pretend to make use of.*

the instructions of the Ancients of their Sect, they had improved themselves in.

But it is not to be understood that all *Magians*, that is all of the Sect were thus learned, but only those who had this name by way of eminence above the rest, that is their Priests. For they being all (*kk*) of the same Tribe as among the *Jews* (none but the son of a Priest being capable of being a Priest among them) they mostly appropriated their Learning to their own families, transmitting it in them from father to son, and seldom communicating it to any other, unless it were to those of the Royal family, (*l*) whom they were bound to instruct, the better to fit them for the Government, and therefore there were some of them as Tutors as well as Chaplains always residing in the Palaces of their Kings. And whether it were, that these *Magians* thought it would bring the greater credit to them, or the Kings, that it would add a greater Sacredness to their persons, or whether it were from both these causes, the Royal Family among the *Persians*, as long as this Sect prevailed among them, was always reckoned of the Sacerdotal Tribe. They were divided into (*ll*) three Orders. The lowest were the inferior Clergy, who served in all the common offices of their divine worship; next above them were the superintendents who in their several Districts governed the inferior Clergy, as the Bishops do with us; and above all was the *Archimagus*, or Arch-Priest, who in the same manner as the High-Priest among the *Jews*, or the Pope now among the *Romanists*, was the Head of the whole Religion. And according to the number of their Orders, the Churches or Temples, in which they officiated, were also of three sorts. The lowest sort were the Parochial Churches, or Oratories, which

(*kk*) Religio veterum Persarum, cap. 30. p. 367. Theodoret. Hist. Eccles. lib. 5. cap. 38. (*l*) Plato in Alcibiade 1. Stobæus, p. 496. Clemens Alexandrinus in Pædagogico 1. p. 81. (*ll*) Religio veterum Persarum cap. 28. & cap. 30.

were served by the inferior Clergy, as the Parochial Churches are now with us. And the Duties, which they there performed were to read the daily offices out of their Liturgy, and at stated and solemn times to read some part of their sacred writings to the people. In these Churches there were no fire-Altars, but the sacred fire, before which they here worshipped, was maintained only in a Lamp. Next above these were their fire-temples, in which fire was continually kept burning on a Sacred Altar. And these were in the same manner, as Cathedrals with us, the Churches or Temples, where the Superintendents resided. In every one of these were also several of the inferior Clergy entertained, who in the same manner as the Choral Vicars with us performed all the Divine Offices under the Superintendent, and also took care of the sacred fire, which they constantly watched day and night by four and four in their turns, that it might be always kept burning and never go out. 3dly, The highest Church above all was the fire-temple where the *Archimagus* resided, which was had in the same veneration with them, as the Temple of *Mecca* among the *Mahometans*, to which every one of that Sect thought themselves obliged to make a pilgrimage once in their lives. *Zoroastres* first settled it at *Balch*, and there he as their *Archimagus* had his usual residence. But after the *Mahometans* had over-run *Persia* in the seventh Century after *Christ*, the *Archimagus* was forced to remove from thence into *Kerman*, which is a Province in *Persia* lying upon the Southern Ocean towards *India*, and there it hath continued even to this day. And to the fire-temple there erected at the place of his residency do they now pay the same veneration, as formerly they did to that of *Balch*. This Temple of the *Archimagus*, as also the other Fire-temples were endowed with large revenues in Lands; but the Parochial Clergy depended solely on the Tithes and Offerings of the People. For this usage also had *Zoroastres* ta-

ken from the Jewish Church, and made it one of his establishments among his Magians.

The Impostor having thus settled his new scheme of Magianism throughout the Province of *Bactria*, with the same success as he had before in *Media*, he (*m*) went next to the Royal Court at *Susa*, where he managed his pretensions with that Craft, Address, and Insinuation, that he soon got within *Darius* himself, and made him a Profelyte to his new-reformed Religion; whose example in a short time drew after it into the same profession the Courtiers, Nobility, and all the great Men of the Kingdom. This hapned in the thirtieth year of *Darius*, and altho' it succeeded not without great oppositions from the Ringleaders of the *Sabians*, who were the opposite Sect, yet the craft, address, and dexterity of the Impostor surmounted them all, and so settled his new device, that thenceforth it became the National Religion of all that Country, and so continued for many ages after, till this Imposture was at last supplanted by that of *Mahomet*, which was raised almost by the same Arts. They who professed this Religion (*n*) in *Lucian's* time, as reckoned up by him, were the *Persians*, the *Parthians*, the *Bactrians*, the *Chowaresmains*, the *Arians*, the *Sacans*, the *Medes*, and many other Barbarous Nations. But since that the new Imposture hath grown up to the suppressing of the old in all these Countries. However there is a remnant of these Magians still remaining in *Persia*, and *India*, who even to this day observe the same Religion, which *Zoroastres* first taught them. For they still have his Book, wherein their Religion is contained, which they keep and reverence in the same manner, as the Christians do the Bible, and the Mahometans the Alcoran, making it the sole Rule both of their Faith and Manners.

(*m*) Religio veterum Persarum cap. 24. *gavis*.

(*n*) *Lucian de Longis*.

This (o) Book the Impostor composed, while he lived in his retirement in the Cave, and therein are contained all his pretended Revelations. When he presented it to *Darius*, it was bound up in twelve Volumes, whercof each consisted of an hundred skins of Velum. For it (p) was the usage of the *Persians* in those times to write all on skins. This Book is called *Zendavesta*, and by contraction, *Zend*, the vulgar pronounce it *Zundavestow*, and *Zund*. The word originally signifieth a fire-kindler, such as is a Tinder-box with us, which phantastical name the Impostor gave it, because, as he pretended, all that would read this Book, and meditate thereon, might from thence, as from a fire-kindler, kindle in their hearts the fire of all true love for God and his Holy Religion. For the better understanding of which it is to be observed, that in those Eastern Countries their way of kindling fire is not by a Tinder-box, as with us, but by rubbing two pieces of cane one against another, till one of them takes fire, and such a fire-kindler of his Religion in the hearts of men the Impostor would have his Book to be, and therefore called it by that name. The first part of it contains their Liturgy, which is still used among them in all their Oratories, and Fire-temples, even to this day. The rest treats of all other parts of their Religion. And according as their Actions do agree or disagree with this Book, do they reckon them to be either good or evil. Thence in their Language they call a righteous action *Zend-aver*, i. e. *what the Book Zend allows*, and an evil action *Na-Zend-aver*, i. e. *which the Book Zend disallows*. This Book *Zoroastres* feigned to have received from Heaven, as *Mahomet* afterwards (perchance following his pattern) pretended of his Alcoran. It is still preserved among them in the old *Persian* Language and Character; and in every Oratory and Fire-temple

(o) Religio veterum Perfarum, c. 25, & 26.
lib. 2. p. 118.

(p) Diodorus Sic.

even to this day there is a Copy of it kept (in the same manner as there is with us of the Bible in every Parish-Church) out of which on certain stated times the Priests read a portion of it to the People. (q) Dr. Hyde late Professor of the *Hebrew* and *Arabick* Tongues at *Oxford*, being well skill'd in the old *Persic* as well as the Modern, (q) offered to have published the whole of it with a *Latin* Translation, could he have been supported in the Expences of the Edition. But for want of this help and encouragement the design died with him, to the great damage of the learned world. For a Book of that Antiquity no doubt would be of great use, could it be made public among us, and would unfold and give us light into many things of the times, wherein it was written, which we are now ignorant of.

In this Book are found a great many things (r) taken out of the Scriptures of the Old Testament, besides those I have already mentioned, which farther proves the Author's Original to have been what I have said. For therein he inserts a great part of the Psalms of *David*; He makes *Adam* and *Eve* to have been the first Parents of all mankind, and gives in a manner the same History of the Creation and the Deluge, that *Moses* doth, only as to the former, whereas *Moses* tells us, that all things were created in six days, *Zoroastres* converts those six days into six times, allowing to each of those times several days, so that putting them all together the Time of the Creation according to his account amounted to three hundred sixty five days, that is a whole year. He speaks therein also of *Abraham*, *Joseph*, *Moses*, and *Solomon*, in the same manner as the Scriptures do. And out of a particular veneration for *Abraham* he called his Book the Book of *Abraham*, and his Religion the Religion of *Abraham*. For he pretend-

(q) Vide eundem De Religione veterum Persarum cap. 1. p. 25.

(r) Pocockii Specimen Historiæ Arabicæ, p. 148. Religio veterum Persarum.

ed, that the Reformation which he introduced was no more than to bring back the Religion of the *Persians* to that original Purity, in which *Abraham* practised it, by purging it of all those defects, abuses and innovations, which the corruptions of after-times had introduced into it. And to all this *Mahomet* also (no doubt from this pattern) afterwards pretended for his Religion. For the name of *Abraham* hath for a great many ages past been had in great veneration all over the East, and among all Sects, so that every one of them have thought it would give Reputation to them, could they entitle themselves to him. For not only the *Jews*, the *Magians*, and the *Mahometans*, but the *Sabians*, and also the *Indians* (if the *Brahama* of the latter be *Abraham*, as it is with good reason supposed) all challenge him to themselves, as the great Patriarch and founder of their several Sects, every one of them pretending, that their Religion is the same which *Abraham* professed, and by his Reformation established among them, and to restore this Reformation was all that *Zoroastres*, *Mahomet*, and the Author of the *Sabian* Sect, whoever he was, pretended to. This veneration for *Abraham* in those parts proceeded from the great fame of his piety, which was (it's supposed) there spread among them by the *Israelites* in their dispersion all over the East, first on the *Assyrian*, and after on the *Babylonish* Captivity. And this fame being once fixed made all Parties fond of having him thought their own, and therefore all laid claim to him. And in this Book *Zoroastres* commands also the same observances about Beasts clean and unclean, as *Moses* doth, gives the same Law of paying Tithes to the Sacerdotal Order, enjoins the same care of avoiding all external, as well as all internal, pollutions, the same way of cleansing and purifying themselves by frequent washings, the same keeping of the Priesthood always within the same Tribe, and the same ordaining of one High-Priest over all, and several other institutions are also therein contained of

the same Jewish extraction. The rest of its contents are an Historical Account of the Life, Actions, and Prophecies of its Author, the several branches and particulars of his new-reformed Superstition, and Rules and Exhortations to moral living, in which he is very pressing and sufficiently exact, saving only in one particular, that is about Incest. For therein he wholly takes this away, and as if nothing of this nature were unlawful, (s) allows a man to marry, not only his sister or his daughter, but also his mother, and it went so far with that Sect in the Practice, that in the sacerdotal Tribe, he that was born of this last, and worst sort of Incest, was looked on as the best qualified for the sacerdotal Function, none being esteemed among them more proper for the highest stations in it, than those that were born of Mothers, who conceived them of their own Sons, which was such an abomination, that tho' all things else had been right therein, this alone is enough to pollute the whole Book. The *Persian* Kings being exceedingly given to such incestuous marriages, this seems to have been contrived out of a vile piece of flattery to them, the better to engage and fix them to their Sect. But (t) *Alexander*, when he conquered *Persia*, did put an end to this abomination. For he did by a Law forbid all such incestuous Copulations among them.

Zoroastres having obtained this wonderful success in making his Imposture to be thus received by the King, and the great men, and the generality of the whole Kingdom, (u) he returned back again to *Balch*, where according to his own Institution he was obliged to have his residence, as *Archimagus* or head of the Sect, and there he reigned in Spirituals with the same au-

(s) Diogenes Laertius in Proemio. Strabo lib. 15. Philo Judæus de specialibus Legibus p. 778. Tertullian in Apologetico. Clemens Alexandrinus in Pædagogico 1. p. 81. & Strom. 3. p. 314. (t) Plutarchus de fortuna Alexandri. (u) Religio veterum Persarum cap. 24.

thority over the whole Empire, as the King did in Temporals, and from hence perchance might proceed the mistake of making him King of *Bactria*, *Balch* being in that Province. And his being said to have been there slain in battel by *Ninus*, might also have its original from his suffering this fate in that Country, although from another hand. For after his return to *Balch*, having enterprised upon *Argasp* King of the Oriental *Scythians* (who was a zealous *Sabian*) to draw him over to his Religion, and backed this attempt with the authority of *Darius*, the more prevalently to induce him to it, the *Scythian* Prince resented it with such indignation to be thus imperiously addressed to concerning this matter, that he invaded *Bactria* with an army, and having there defeated the forces of *Darius*, that opposed him, slew *Zoroastres* with all the Priests of his Patriarchal Church, which amounted to the number of eighty Persons, and demolished all the Fire-temples in that Province. This hapned in the thirty fifth year of the reign of *Darius*. The *Persians* tell us that *Lorasp* or *Hystaspes*, the father of *Darius*, was slain also in the same war. But if he lived so long, he must then have been exceeding old. For allowing him to have been no more than twenty on his first coming with *Cyrus* out of *Persia*, he must now have been ninety three years old. But this is no strange thing in those parts. For the air being there thoroughly pure and healthy, the perspiration free and regular, and all the fruits of the earth fully concocted, they who can there avoid the excesses of lust and luxury usually live to a great age, of which we have lately had two instances in *Aurang-Zeb* King of *India*, and *Rajah-Singah* King of *Candia* in the Island of *Ceylon*, the former dying in the year 1708 of the age of near an hundred, and the other about twenty years before much older.

But *Darius* soon revenged the injury upon the *Scythian* King. For falling on him before he could make his retreat, he overthrew him with a great slaughter,

slaughter, and drove him out of the Province, after which he rebuilt again all the Fire-temples, that had been demolished by the enemy, and especially that at *Balch*, which he erected with a grandeur suitable to its dignity, it being the Patriarchal Temple of the Sect, and therefore from the name of its restorer it was thenceforth called (w) *Auzur Gustasp*, i. e. the Fire-temple of *Darius Hystaspis*. And the care which he took in this matter shews the zeal which he had for his new Religion, which he still continued to propagate after the death of its Author with the same ardour as before. And the better to preserve its credit and reputation after this accident, he thenceforth took it on himself to be their *Archimagus*. For (x) *Porphyry* tells us he ordered before his death, that among other his titles it should be engraven on his monument, that he was *Master of the Magians*, which plainly implies that he bore this Office among them. (For none but the *Archimagus* was Master of the whole Sect.) But it was not long that he was in it, for he died the next year after. However from hence it seems to have proceeded, that the Kings of *Persia* were ever after looked on to be of the sacerdotal tribe, and were always (y) initiated into the sacred order of the *Magians*, before they took on them the Crown, or were inaugurated into the Kingdom.

The (z) *Greeks* had the name of *Zoroastres* in great esteem, speaking of him as the great Master of all humane and divine knowledge. (a) *Plato*, (b) *Aristotle*, (c) *Plutarch*, and (d) *Porphyry* mention him with honour, acknowledging his great learning, and so do others. (e) *Pliny* saith much of him, and parti-

(w) Religio veterum Persarum cap. 23. (x) Porphyrius de Abstinencia lib. 4. p. 165. Edit. Cantab. (y) Cicero de Divinatione lib. 1. Philo Judæus de Specialibus Legibus. Plutarchus in Artaxerxe. (z) Diogenes Laertius in Proœmio. (a) In Alcibiade 1. (b) In libro de Magia citante Laertio in Proœmio. (c) De Iride & Osiride. (d) In vita Pythagoræ. (e) Lib. 30. c. 1. & lib. 7. c. 16.

cularly remarks, that he was the only person that laughed on the day in which he was born; and that the pulsation of his head did then beat so strong, that it heaved up the hand laid upon it; which last he saith was a presage of his future Learning. *Solinus* tells us the same story of his laughing on the day of his birth, and saith that (f) he was *Optimarum Artium peritissimus*, i. e. *Most skilful in the Knowledge of the best Arts.* And *Apuleius's* Character of him is that he was (g) *Omnis Divini Arcani Antistes*, i. e. *The chief Doctor in all Divine Mysteries.* *Cedrenus* names him as a famous Astronomer among the *Persians*, and (h) *Suidas* saith of him, that he excelled all others in that Science. And this reputation he still hath over all the east, even among those who are most averse to his Sect to this very day. For they all there, as well *Mahometans* as *Sabians*, give him (i) the title of *Hakim*, that is of a wise and learned Philosopher, and reckon him as the most skilful and eminent of their ancient Astronomers. And particularly *Ulugh Beigh*, that famous and learned *Tartarian* Prince, writing a book of Astronomy and Astrology doth therein (k) prefer *Zoroastres* before all others for his skill and knowledge in these Sciences. It is to be observed also, that they who write of *Pythagoras* do almost all of them tell us, that he was the scholar of *Zoroastres* at *Babylon*, and learned of him and his Disciples the *Magians* most of that knowledge, which afterwards rendred him so famous in the west. So saith (l) *Apuleius*, and so say (m) *Jamblichus*, (n) *Porphyry* and (o) *Clemens Alexandrinus*; (for the *Zabratus*, or *Zaratus* of *Porphyry*, and the *Na-Zaratus* of *Clemens*, were none other than this *Zoroastres*;) and they relate the matter thus. That

(f) cap. 1. (g) *Floridorum* 2do. (h) In vocibus *Μαγοὶ* & *Ἀστρονομία* & *Ζωροάστρης*. (i) *Religio veterum Persarum* c. 24. p. 312. (k) *Religio veterum Persarum* ibid. (l) *Floridorum* 2do. (m) In vitâ *Pythagoræ* cap. 4. (n) In vitâ *Pythagoræ* p. 185. Edit. Cantab. (o) *Strom.* 1. p. 223.

when *Cambyfes* conquered *Egypt*, (p) he found *Pythagoras* there on his Travels for the improvement of himself in the learning of that country, and that having taken him prisoner he sent him with other captives to *Babylon*, where *Zoroastres* (or *Zabratus*, as *Porphyry* calls him) then lived, and that there he became his disciple, and learned many things of him of the eastern learning. The words of *Porphyry* are, *That by (q) Zabratius he was cleansed from the pollutions of his life past, and instructed from what things virtuous persons ought to be free, and also learnt from him the Discourse concerning nature, and what are the principles of the Universe.* This doth not disagree with the age of *Zoroastres*, nor with the time in which *Pythagoras* is said to have lived. For *Zoroastres* being (r) a very old man at the time of his death, past eighty at least, if we reckon 38 years back from the time of his death, it will prove him to be forty two at least, when *Cambyfes* conquered *Egypt*. And that *Pythagoras* flourished at the same time is sufficiently evidenced, in that he had for his contemporaries *Polycrates* tyrant of *Samos*, *Amasis* King of *Egypt*, and *Milo* the *Crotonian*. For when *Pythagoras* went into *Egypt* he (s) carried with him from *Polycrates* letters of recommendation to *Amasis*, which *Amasis* (s) dyed in the same year in which *Cambyfes* invaded that country; and *Milo*, who was *Pythagoras*'s (t) scholar, was (v) victor in the wrestling games at the 62d Olympiad, seven years before *Cambyfes* invaded *Egypt*, and about the seventh year of *Darius Hystaspis* (w) married his daughter to *Democides* the physician, and about 20 years after *Pythagoras* (x) was in

(p) Jamblichus de vitâ Pythagoræ cap. 4. Apuleius Floridorum 2do.
 (q) In vitâ Pythagoræ, p. 185. Edit. Cantab. (r) Religio veterum Persarum, c. 24. p. 326. (s) Diogenes Laertius & Porphyrius in vitâ Pythagoræ. (t) Herodot. lib. 3. Diodorus Siculus lib. 1. (v) Strabo lib. 6. p. 263. Jamblicus in vitâ Pythagoræ, cap. 36. (w) Africanus ἀναγερσὴν Ὀλυμπιάδων in Eusebii Chronico Græco, p. 39.
 (x) Herodotus, lib. 3. (x) Porphyrius & Jamblicus in vitâ Pythagoræ Excerpta Diodori Siculi.

Milo's house, when he was assaulted by *Cylon* one of his scholars and slain. Hereby it appears, that *Zoroastres* and *Pythagoras* both flourished together, between the beginning of the reign of *Cyrus* and the latter end of that of *Darius Hystaspis*. But if what is said of *Pythagoras's* being taken prisoner by *Cambyfes's* soldiers in *Egypt* doth not exactly accord with what others write of the different stages of his life, this is owing to the uncertainty of the ancient *Grecian* Chronology. For (y) Sir *John Marsham* observes right, that till after the time of *Alexander* the *Greeks* were far from being accurate in this matter. But however this be, that *Pythagoras* was in *Egypt*, and from thence went to *Babylon*, and learnt there a great part of that knowledge which he was afterwards so famous for, is agreed by (z) all. His stay there, *Jamblicus* (a) tells us, was twelve years, and that in his converse with the *Magians* he learnt from them (over and above what hath been afore-mention'd out of *Porphyry*) arithmetic, music, and the knowledge of divine things, and the sacred mysteries pertaining thereto. But the most important doctrine which he brought home from thence was that of the immortality of the soul. For it's generally agreed among the ancients, (b) that he was the first of all the *Greeks* that taught it. And this, I take it for certain, he had from *Zoroastres*. For, as I have afore shewn, it was his doctrine, and he is the ancientest of any whom we have upon record, of all the heathen nations, that taught it. But *Pythagoras* did not bring this doctrine into *Greece*, with that purity, in which he received it from his master. For having corrupted it with a mixture of the *Indian* Philosophy, (for this also he had learn'd in the east) he

(y) In *Canone Chronico* Sect. IX. p. 144. Edit. Lips. (z) *Dio- genes Laertius*, *Porphyrius* & *Jamblicus* in *vitâ Pythagoræ*. (a) *Jamblichus* in *vitâ Pythagoræ*, lib. 4. (b) *Porphyrius* in *vitâ Pythagoræ*, p. 188. & 201. Edit. Cantab. *Jamblichus* in *vitâ Pythagoræ*, cap. 30.

made this immortality to consist (c) in 'an eternal transmigration of the soul from one body to another, whereas *Zoroastres's* doctrine was (d) that there is to be a resurrection of the dead, and an immortal state after to follow, in the same manner as (e) *Daniel* taught, and the people of God then held, and we now; and there is no doubt but that he had it from them.

Some of the ancient both *Greek* and *Latin* writers give unto *Zoroastres* a very fabulous antiquity. *Justin* (f) according to our present printed copies makes him contemporary with *Ninus*, who is said to have reigned in *Assyria* 1300 years before the death of *Sardanapalus*, from which this our History begins. *Eudoxus* (g) placeth him six thousand years before the death of *Plato*, and so did *Aristotle*. (h) *Hermodorus*, (i) *Hermippus*, and (k) *Plutarch* make him to have flourished five thousand years before the war of *Troy*. But (l) *Xanthus Lydius*, and another Anonymous author followed by (m) *Suidas*, reckoning it by hundreds instead of thousands, the latter of them brings down his time to five hundred years before the war of *Troy*, and the other to six hundred years before the expedition of *Xerxes* into *Greece*, which was much later; but the best evidence is for the age where I have placed it, that is between the beginning of the reign of *Cyrus* over the east, and the latter end of that of *Darius Hystaspis*. This is indeed the latest that is said, but in all such pretences to antiquity they that say the latest are almost always nearest the truth. And that this latest is the truth in the present case, is confirmed not only by the concurrent testimony of all the writers of the east, that make

(c) Porphyrius in vitâ Pythagoræ, p. 17. Edit. Cantab. & Jamblichus & Diogenes Laertius in vitâ ejusdem. (d) Diogenes Laertius in Proœmio. (e) *Chap.* xii. *ver.* 2, 3. (f) *Lib.* 1. cap. 1, & 2. Africanus apud Syncellum. (g) Plinius, lib. 30. cap. 1. (h) Diogenes Laertius in Proœmio. (i) Plinius, lib. 30. cap. 1. (k) In libro de Iside & Ofiride. (l) Diogenes Laertius in Proœmio. (m) Sub voce Ζωροάστρης.

mention of this matter, but many of the western writers also assert the same thing. What hath been said to this purpose by *Apuleius*, *Jamblichus*, *Porphyrus*, *Clemens Alexandrinus*, and *Agathias*, hath been already alledged. *Plato* (n) in the tenth book of his *Politics* hath said, that *Zoroastres* had the name of *Er* of *Pamphylia* the son of (o) *Armenius*, which same is the *Armenius* of *Pamphylia*, whom (p) *Arnobius* asserts to have been a familiar acquaintance of *Cyrus's*. *Suidas*, who had the use of many ancient books not now extant, from them (q) tells us, that *Zoroastres* was *Persemedus*, but there was no such person or name as *Persemedus*, 'till *Cyrus* had joined the *Medes* and *Persians* together, and incorporated them under him into one nation. *Pliny* speaking of *Ostanes*, who came into *Greece* with *Xerxes*, (r) saith of him, that *Zoroastres* lived *paulo ante hunc*, that is, a little before him. And *Diogenes Laertius* (s) makes mention of this *Ostanes* as the next successor of *Zoroastres*, and (t) *Suidas* doth the same, which plainly proves this *Zoroastres* to have lived but a little before the time of *Xerxes*. And *Pliny* tells us, (t) that they were the *diligentiores*, that is, the more diligent and accurate, that did so assert. The greatest objection against this is the testimony of *Xanthus Lydius* in *Diogenes Laertius*. For if he lived at that time, when the *Athenians* burnt *Sardis* in the reign of *Darius Hystaspis*, as (v) *Suidas* tells us, he must then have lived in the same age, in which we say *Zoroastres* flourished; and how then could he say

(n) *Clemens Alexandrinus Strom.* 5. p. 436. Edit. Heinf. (o) Gr. ὁ Ἀρμενίε, which is truly to be interpreted, not the son, but the worshipper of *Armenius*, who is otherwise called *Arimanius*, that is, *Ahriman*, who was the evil God of the *Magians*. In the same manner he is elsewhere called ὁ Ὀρομάζε, and ὁ Ὀρομάσδεω, i. e. not the son, but the worshipper of *Oromazes* or *Oromasdes*, who was the other God, that is the good God of the *Magians*. See *Agathias*, lib. 2. and *Stobæus*, p. 496. (p) *Arnobius*, lib. 1. p. 31. (q) *Suidas* sub voce Ζωροάστρης. (r) *Plinius*, lib. 30. cap. 1. (s) In *Procemio*. (t) *Suidas* sub vocibus Μάγοι & Ἀστρονομία. (v) *Plin.* Ibid. (w) In voce ξέρθε.

of him, that he lived six hundred years before? One answer to be given hereto is, that (u) *Athenæus* tells us from *Antemon Cassandreus* (who wrote a tract of purpose to shew who were the genuin Authors of the Books then extant, and who were not) that the Books which went under the name of *Xanthus Lydius* in the time of *Diogenes Laertius*, were not written by him, but by *Dionysius Scytobrachion* (who lived (w) a little before the time of *Julius Cæsar*) and that the name of *Xanthus Lydius* (whose true works had all perished long before) was falsely ascribed to them. But supposing it otherwise, the Objection may be fully solved by what *Pliny* (x) tells us of two *Zoroastres*'s, the former of which might live six hundred years before the latter, and this latter might be that *alius Zoroastres*, that is, that other *Zoroastres*, who according (y) to the same *Pliny* lived a little before *Ostanes*, and was the same, of which we now treat. But however that matter was, thus much is certain, that the *Zoroastres*, that was the *Zerdusht* of the *Persians*, who was the great Patriarch of the *Magians*, who wrote the book *Zendavesta* (which is the Bible of that Sect) and whose name is still in the same veneration among them, as that of *Moses* is among the *Jews*, and that of *Mahomet* among the *Mahometans*, lived in no other times, than those where I have placed him. Possibly there might be another before him of the same name, and he the same, of which the book ascribed to *Xanthus Lydius* did speak. If any one shall say, that the former was the founder of the *Magian* Sect, and the latter the reformer of it, and for that reason called by the same name, I shall not contradict the conjecture; for I am apt to think that may be the truth of the matter.

Some of the (z) ancient Heretics, especially the followers of *Prodicus*, pretended to have the secret

(u) *Athenæus*, lib. 12. (w) *Suetonius* in *Antonio Gniphone*. *Vofsius de Historicis Græcis*, lib. 4. c. 5. (x) *Plinius*, lib. 30. cap. 1. (y) *Plin. ibid.* (z) *Clemens Alexandrinus*, *Strom.* 1. p. 223.

Books of *Zoroastres*, containing his Revelations, and other mysteries of Religion, and offered to make use of them in defence of their Heresies. Against these (a) *Plotinus* and *Porphyry* did both write, and fully shewed them to have been the Forgeries of the *Gnostic* Christians. And others have gathered together out of *Proclus*, *Simplicius*, *Damascius*, *Synesius*, *Olympiodorus*, and other writers, what they call the Oracles of *Zoroastres*, and several editions have been published of them in *Greek* with the Scholia or Comments of *Pletho* and *Pfellus*. But all these are mere figments, coined by the *Platonick* Philosophers, who lived after the time of *Christ*, and are condemned as such by (b) *St. Chrysostom*, who plainly tells us that they were all figments. If any are desirous to see what unintelligible, and nonsensical stuff, these Oracles do contain, they may consult Mr. *Stanley's* book of the *Chaldaic* Philosophy, which is published at the end of his *History of Philosophy*, where they will find them translated into *English* from the Collection of *Francis Patricius*.

Abul-Pharagius tells us, that (c) *Zerduſht* (or *Zoroastres*) foretold to his *Magians* the coming of *Christ*, and that at the time of his birth there should appear a wonderful star, which should shine by day, as well as by night, and therefore left it in command with them, that when that star should appear, they should follow the directions of it, and go to the place, where he should be born, and there offer gifts, and pay their adoration unto him: And that it was by this command, that the three wise men came from the east, that is out of *Persia*, to worship *Christ* at *Betlehem*. And so far (d) *Sharifstani* tho' a *Mahometan* writer doth agree with him, as that he tells us,

(a) Vide *Lucam Holstenium* de vita & scriptis *Porphyrii*, cap. 9. p. 75. Edit. Cantab. (b) In vitâ *Bibylæ Martyris*. (c) *Historia Dynastiarum*, p. 54. (d) *Religio veterum Persarum* cap. 31. p. 382, 383.

that *Zerduſht* (or *Zoroaſtres*) foretold the coming of a wonderful perſon in the latter times, who ſhould reform the world both in Religion and Rightcouſneſs, and that Kings and Princes ſhould become obedient to him, and give him their aſſiſtance in promoting the true Religion, and all the works thereof. But what theſe attribute to the Prophecy of *Zoroaſtres*, (e) others refer to the Prophecy of *Balaam*, and ſay, that it was by his Prediction, that the wiſe men were led by the Star to ſeek *Chriſt* in *Judea*, and there pay their adoration unto him. But all this ſeems to be taken out of the *Legendary* writings of the eaſtern Chriſtians. And *Abul-Pharagius*, though an *Arab* writer, being by religion a Chriſtian, it is moſt likely, that what he tells us of this matter, was taken from them.

Thoſe who are ſtill remaining of this Sect in *Perſia* (f) have there the name of *Gaurs*, which in the *Arabick* ſignifyeth *Infidels*, and is the uſual appellation, which the *Mahometans* beſtow on all, that are not of their Religion. But thoſe people have this name in *Perſia* by way of eminency, as if there were none other ſuch like them, and therefore they are there called by it, as if it were their national name, and are known by none other in that country, and whoſoever ſpeaks of a *Gaur* there, underſtands none other by it, than one of this Sect. They have a ſuburb at *Hiſpahan*, the metropolis of *Perſia*, which is called *Gaurabad*, or the Town of the *Gaurs*, where they are employed only in the meaneſt and vileſt Drudgeries of the Town. And ſome of them are ſcattered abroad in other places of that Country, where they are made uſe of in the like ſervices. But the bulk of them is in *Kerman*, which being the barrenſt, and worſt Province of all *Perſia*, and where others care not to dwell, the *Mahometans*

(e) Theodorus Tarſenſis. (f) Thevenot's *Travels*. Sanſon's *preſent State of Perſia*. Tavernier. *Religio veterum Perſarum*, cap. 29.

have been content to permit them to live there with some freedom, and the full exercise of their Religion. But every where else they use them as dogs, esteeming them as to their Religion the worst of all those that differ from them, and it is with a wonderful constancy that they bear this oppression. Some ages since for the avoiding of it several of them fled into *India*, and settled there in the Country about *Surat*, where their posterity are still remaining even to this day. And (g) a Colony of them is settled in *Bombay*, an Island in those Parts belonging to the *English*, where they are allowed without any molestation the full freedom and exercise of their Religion. They are a poor, harmless sort of People, zealous in their Superstition, rigorous in their Morals, and exact in their Dealings, professing the worship of one God only, and the Belief of a Resurrection and a future Judgment, and utterly detesting all Idolatry, although reckoned by the *Mahometans* the most guilty of it. For although they perform their worship before fire, and towards the Rising Sun, yet they utterly deny that they worship either of them: They hold, that more of God is in these his Creatures, than in any other, and that therefore they worship God toward them, as being in their opinion the truest *Shecinah* of the Divine presence among us, as Darkness is that of the Devil's; and as to *Zoroastres*, they still have him in the same veneration, as the *Jews* have *Moses*, looking on him as the great Prophet of God, by whom he sent his Law, and communicated his will unto them.

Xerxes having ascended the Throne (h) Anno 485. Xerxes I. employed the first year of his reign in carrying on the preparations for the reduction of *Egypt*, which his father had begun. He (i) confirmed to the *Jews* at *Jerusalem* all the privileges

(g) Ovington's *Travels*.
Antiq. lib. ii. c. 5.

(h) Herodotus lib. 7.

(i) Josephus

granted them by his father, especially that of having the Tribute of *Samaria* for the furnishing of them with Sacrifices for the carrying on of the Divine worship in the Temple of God in that place.

In the second year of his reign he marched against the *Egyptians*, and having thoroughly vanquished and subdued these Revolters, he
Anno 484.
Xerxes 2. (k) reduced them under an heavier yoke of servitude, than they were before; and then towards the end of the year, after having made *Achemenes* one of his Brothers Governor of the Province, returned again to *Susa*.

This year *Herodotus* the famous Historian (l) was born at *Halicarnassus* in *Caria*. For he was fifty three years old when the *Peloponesian* war first began.

Xerxes being puffed up with his success against the *Egyptians*, upon the advice and instigation of *Mardonius*, the son of *Gobrias*, who
Anno 483.
Xerxes 3. had married one of his sisters (m), resolved upon a war with *Greece*, and in order thereto made great preparations for three years together throughout all the Provinces of the *Persian* Empire.

Joshua the High-Priest of the *Jews* at *Jerusalem* (n) died in the fifty third year of his High-Priesthood, and (o) *Joiakim* his Son succeeded him in that Office.

Xerxes being resolved on the *Grecian* war (p) entered into a League with the *Carthaginians*,
Anno 482.
Xerxes 4. whereby it was agreed, that while the *Persians* invaded *Greece*, the *Carthaginians* should fall on all those, who were of the *Grecian* name in *Sicily* and *Italy*, that thereby they might be diverted from helping one the other. And the *Carthaginians* made choice of *Hamilcar* to be their General in this

(k) *Herodotus* lib. 7.

(l) *Aulus Gellius* lib. 15. c. 23.

(m) *Herodotus* lib. 7.

(n) *Chronicon Alexandrinum*.

(o) *Nehemiah* xii. 10.

Jos. Antiq. lib. 10. c. 5.

(p) *Diodorus*

Siculus lib. 11.



ADRIATICI

MARIS PARS

ITALIAE

Tarentinus

PARS
Crotona

IONIVM

MARE

GRAECIAE
ANTIQAÆ
et
INSVLARVM
CONSPECTVS

MACE

DONIA

THESSALIA

LOCRIS

PHOCIS

ACHAIA

REGIO PELAGIA

ARCADIA

MESSENIA

SPARTA

LAONIA

BOEOTIA

ATTICA

MACEDONIA

TRACIA

THRACIA

MACEDONIA

TRACIA

THRACIA

MACEDONIA

TRACIA

THRACIA

MACEDONIA

TRACIA

THRACIA

MACEDONIA

TRACIA

THRACIA

MACEDONIA

TRACIA

THRACIA

MACEDONIA

TRACIA

THRACIA

MACEDONIA

TRACIA

THRACIA

MACEDONIA

TRACIA

THRACIA

MACEDONIA

TRACIA

THRACIA

MACEDONIA

TRACIA

THRACIA

MACEDONIA

TRACIA

THRACIA

MACEDONIA

TRACIA

THRACIA

MACEDONIA

TRACIA

THRACIA

MACEDONIA

TRACIA

THRACIA

MACEDONIA

TRACIA

THRACIA

MACEDONIA

TRACIA

THRACIA

MACEDONIA

TRACIA

THRACIA

MACEDONIA

TRACIA

THRACIA

MACEDONIA

TRACIA

THRACIA

MACEDONIA

TRACIA

THRACIA

MACEDONIA

TRACIA

THRACIA

MACEDONIA

TRACIA

THRACIA

MACEDONIA

TRACIA

THRACIA

MACEDONIA

TRACIA

THRACIA

MACEDONIA

TRACIA

THRACIA

MACEDONIA

TRACIA

THRACIA

MACEDONIA

TRACIA

THRACIA

MACEDONIA

TRACIA

THRACIA

MACEDONIA

TRACIA

THRACIA

MACEDONIA

TRACIA

THRACIA

MACEDONIA

TRACIA

THRACIA

MACEDONIA

TRACIA

THRACIA

MACEDONIA

TRACIA

THRACIA

MACEDONIA

TRACIA

THRACIA

MACEDONIA

TRACIA

THRACIA

MACEDONIA

TRACIA

THRACIA

MACEDONIA

TRACIA

THRACIA

MACEDONIA

TRACIA

THRACIA

MACEDONIA

TRACIA

THRACIA

MACEDONIA

TRACIA

THRACIA

MACEDONIA

TRACIA

THRACIA

MACEDONIA

TRACIA

THRACIA

MACEDONIA

TRACIA

THRACIA

MACEDONIA

TRACIA

THRACIA

MACEDONIA

TRACIA

THRACIA

MACEDONIA

TRACIA

THRACIA

MACEDONIA

TRACIA

THRACIA

MACEDONIA

TRACIA

THRACIA

MACEDONIA

TRACIA

THRACIA

MACEDONIA

TRACIA

THRACIA

MACEDONIA

TRACIA

THRACIA

MACEDONIA

TRACIA

THRACIA

MACEDONIA

TRACIA

THRACIA

MACEDONIA

TRACIA

THRACIA

MACEDONIA

TRACIA

THRACIA

MACEDONIA

TRACIA

THRACIA

MACEDONIA

TRACIA

THRACIA

MACEDONIA

TRACIA

THRACIA

MACEDONIA

TRACIA

THRACIA

MACEDONIA

TRACIA

THRACIA

MACEDONIA

TRACIA

THRACIA

MACEDONIA

TRACIA

THRACIA

MACEDONIA

TRACIA

THRACIA

MACEDONIA

TRACIA

THRACIA

MACEDONIA

TRACIA

THRACIA

MACEDONIA

TRACIA

THRACIA

MACEDONIA

TRACIA

THRACIA

MACEDONIA

TRACIA

THRACIA

MACEDONIA

TRACIA

THRACIA

MACEDONIA

TRACIA

THRACIA

MACEDONIA

TRACIA

THRACIA

MACEDONIA

TRACIA

THRACIA

MACEDONIA

TRACIA

THRACIA

MACEDONIA

TRACIA

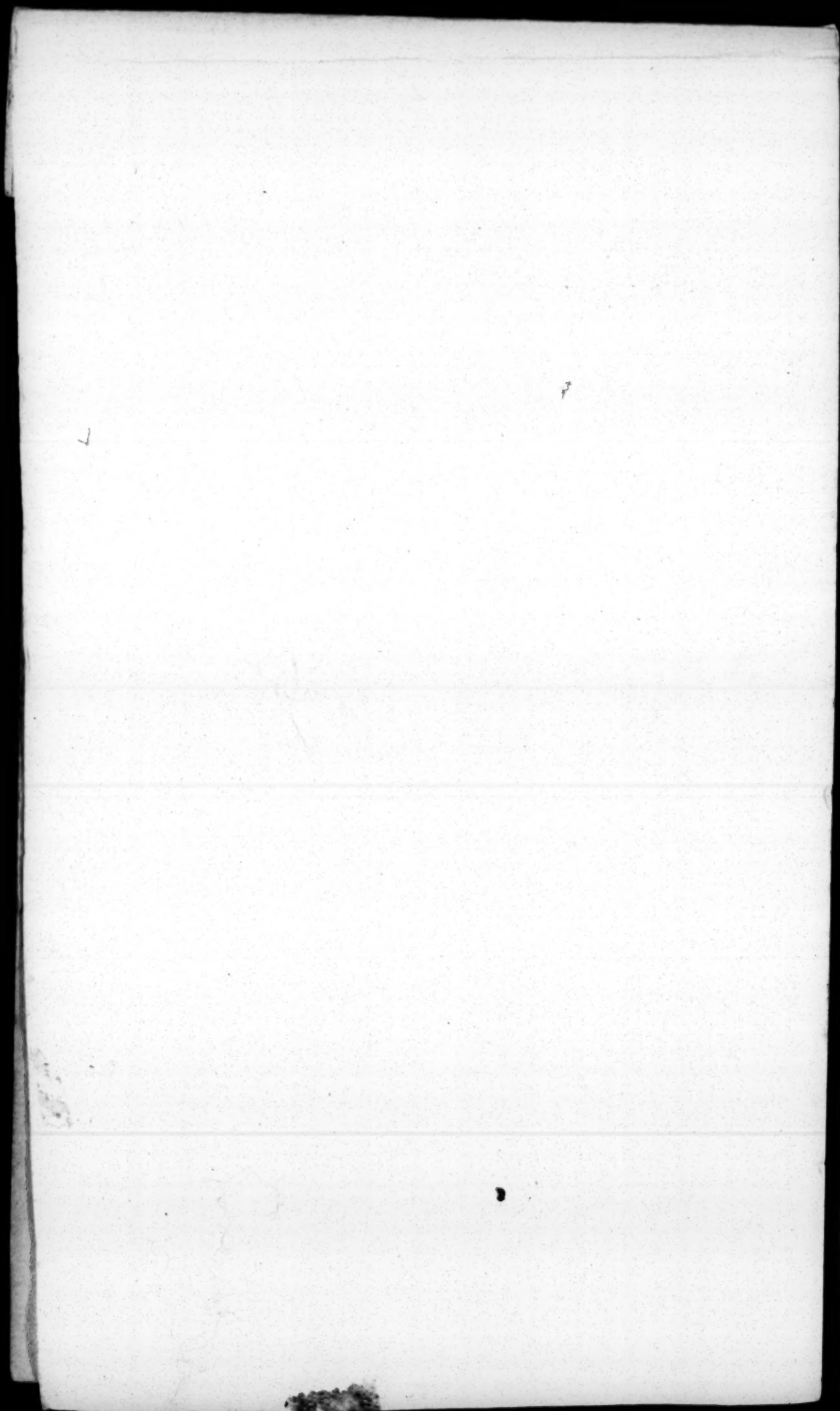
THRACIA

MACEDONIA

TRACIA



H. Blaeuw Sculp.



war, who not only raised what forces he could in *Africa*, but also with the money sent him by *Xerxes* hired a great number of Mercenaries out of *Spain*, *Gallia*, and *Italy*, so that he got together an Army of three hundred thousand men, and a fleet proportionable hereto, for the prosecuting of the intent of this League.

And thus *Xerxes*, according as was foretold by the Prophet *Daniel*, (q) having by his strength and thorough his great riches stirred up all the then known habitable world against the Realm of *Grecia*, that is all the West under the Command of *Hamilcar*, and all the East under his own, he did, (r) in the fifth year of his Reign, which was (s) the tenth after the Battel of *Marathon*, set out from *Susa* to begin the war, and having marched as far as *Sardis* wintered there.

Anno 481.
Xerxes 5.

Early the next Spring (t) *Xerxes* did set out for the *Hellepont*, over which two Bridges of Boats having been laid, the one for his Army, and the other for his Carriages and Beasts of burden, he passed all over in seven days, during all which time they were continually a passing day and night, before all could get over, so great was the number of them, that attended him in this Expedition. From thence marching thorough the *Thracian Chersonesus* he arrived at *Doriscus*, a City at the Mouth of the River *Hebrus* in *Thracia*, at which place having encamped his Army, and ordered his fleet also to attend him on the adjacent shore, he there took an account of both. His Land Army upon the muster was found to be one million and seven hundred thousand foot, and fourscore thousand Horse, besides his Chariots and his Camels, for which allowing twenty thousand more, the whole will a-

Anno 480.
Xerxes 6.

(q) Daniel xi. 2. (r) Herodotus lib. 7. (s) Thucydides lib. 1. (t) Herodotus lib. 7. Diodor. Siculus lib. 11. Plutarchus in Themistocle & Aristide. Justin. lib. 2. c. 10.

mount to one million and eight hundred thousand men. His fleet consisted of twelve hundred and seventy ships of the line of Battel, besides Gallies, Transports, Victuallers, and other sorts of Vessels that attended, which were three thousand more; on board all which were reckoned to be five hundred and seventeen thousand six hundred and ten men. So that the whole number of forces by Sea and Land, which *Xerxes* brought with him out of *Asia* to invade *Greece*, amounted to two millions three hundred and seventeen thousand six hundred and ten men. After his passing the *Hellespont*, the Nations on this side, that submitted to him, added to his Land Army three hundred thousand men more, and two hundred and twenty ships to his fleet, on board of which were twenty four thousand men. So that putting all together his forces by Sea and Land by that time he came to the *Streights* of the *Thermopylae* made up the number of two millions six hundred forty one thousand six hundred and ten men. And the Servants, Eunuchs, Women, Sutlers, and all such other people, as followed the Camp, were computed to be no less than as many more. So that the whole number of Persons of all sorts, that followed *Xerxes* in this Expedition, were at least five Millions. This is (u) *Herodotus's* account of them, and (w) *Platarch* and (x) *Isocrates* agree with him herein. But (y) *Diodorus Siculus*, (z) *Pliny*, (a) *Ælian* and others do in their computations fall much short of this number, making the Army of *Xerxes*, with which he passed the *Hellespont* against *Greece* to be very little more, than that, with which *Darius* his father passed the *Bosphorus* to make war upon the *Scythians*. It is probable they might have mistaken the one for the other. The verses engraved on the Monument of

(u) *Herodotus* lib. 7.(w) In *Themistocle*.(x) In *Panathenæico*.

(y) Lib. 11.

(z) Lib. 33. c. 10.

(a) Var.

Histor. lib. 13. cap. 3.

those Grecians, who were slain at *Thermopylae* best agree with the account of *Herodotus*. For in them it is said, (b) that they there fought against two millions of men. And he being the ancientest Author, that hath written of this war, and having lived in the age, in which it hapned, and treated of it more particularly, and with a greater appearance of Exactness, than any other, his computation seemeth the most likely to be the truest, and that especially since we find it to be the general opinion of the ancients, both *Greeks* and *Latins*, that this was the greatest Army, that was ever brought into the field.

Josephus tells us (c) that a Band of *Jews* was also in this Army, and brings for proof of it a passage out of the Poet *Chærilus*, who in describing the Army of *Xerxes*, as they passed on by their several Nations in their march, hath these verses.

*Then next did march in habit and in meen,
A people wonderful for to be seen.
Their Language is in Dialect the same,
Which men do speak of the Phœnician name.
They dwell in the high Solymæan Land,
On Hills, near which there doth a great Lake stand.*

Jerusalem having also had the name of (d) *Solyma*, and all the Country thereabout being mountainous, and lying near the great Lake *Asphaltites*, commonly called the Lake of *Sodom*, this Description seems plainly to suit the *Jews*, especially since it is also mentioned, that they spake the *Phœnician* Language, the *Syriac* being then the vulgar Language of the

(b) *Herodotus* lib. 7. *Diodorus Siculus* lib. 11. p. 26. This Inscription according to the reading as in *Herodotus* saith they were three millions, but as in *Diodorus* only two millions.

(c) *Contra Apianem*, lib. 1.

(d) By Abbreviation for *Hierosolyma*.

Jews. But (e) *Scaliger*, (f) *Cunæus*, and (g) *Bochartus* understand it of the *Solyimi* in *Pisidia*. However (b) *Salmasius* maintains the contrary opinion, and justifies *Josephus* in it; and it must be said, that it is not at all likely, that when *Xerxes* called all the other Nations of the *Persian* Empire to follow him to this war, the *Jews* alone should be excused from it. And therefore whether these, whom *Chærilus* speaks of were *Jews* or not, it must be taken for certain, that they also did bear a part in this Expedition.

After *Xerxes* had taken this account of his Fleet and Army at *Doriscus*, (i) he marched from thence with his Army through *Thrace*, *Macedon*, and *Thessaly* towards *Attica*, and ordered his Fleet to attend him on the Coast all the way, making the same stations by Sea, that he did by Land. All yielded to him in his march without any opposition, till he came to the Streights of *Thermopylae*, where *Leonidas* King of the *Lacedæmonians* with three hundred *Spartans*, and as many other *Greeks*, as made up a body of four thousand men, defended the pass against him. For two days he made it good against all the numerous Army of the *Persians*, repulsing them in every assault with a great slaughter of their men. But on the third day being ready to be surrounded by the *Persians* through the Treachery of a certain *Greek*, who led them by a secret way over the Mountains to fall on them in the rear, all retired saving *Leonidas* and his three hundred *Spartans*, and some few others, that would not desert them, who resolutely abiding by the post they had undertaken to defend, were at length all slain upon the spot. But the *Persians* paid very dear for this victory, having lost in the gaining of it twenty

(e) In notis ad fragmenta.

lib. 2. c. 18.

(g) *Geographia Sacra*, Part 2. lib. 1. c. 2.

Offilegio Linguae Hellenisticæ.

lib. 11. *Plutarchus* in *Themistocle*.

(f) *De Republica Hebræorum*

(b) In

(i) *Herodot.* lib. 7. *Diodor. Sic.*

thousand of their men, and among them two of the Brothers of *Xerxes*.

After this *Xerxes* (k) entered through *Bæotia* into *Attica* the Country of the *Athenians*, having spent in his march hither since his passing the *Helleſpont* four Months. The *Athenians* not able to defend themselves against ſo great a force deſerted their City, putting all their men aboard their fleet, and ſecuring their Wives and Children in *Salamis*, *Ægina*, and *Træzene*, neighbouring Cities, which by the intervention of the Sea were out of the reach of his Army, ſo that on his coming thither he became maſter of the place without any oppoſition.

In the interim the *Persian* and *Grecian* (l) fleets lying near each other, the former at *Aphetæ*, and the other at *Artimiſium*, above *Eubœa*, had ſeveral encounters with each other, in every one of which the *Grecians* had the advantage, and though it was not great, yet it ſerved them to ſhew, that the Enemy notwithstanding their great number were not invincible, which gave them the heart afterwards with the greater courage and reſolution to fight againſt them. However their ſhips being much ſhattered by theſe ſeveral encounters, they found it neceſſary to retire to ſome ſafer place to refit, and for this purpoſe came into the *Streights* of *Salamis*, where they not only refitted, but were alſo reinforced and augmented by a great many other ſhips, which from ſeveral parts of *Greece* came thither to them, and there joined them againſt the Common Enemy, till at length they there made up a fleet upward of three hundred Sail. It was while they lay there, that *Xerxes* entered *Athens*, and thereon the *Persian* fleet came thither alſo, and anchored at *Phalerus*, a Port on that ſhore. The *Streights* of *Salamis*, where the *Greek Fleet* lay, was

(k) Herodot. lib. 8. Diodor. Sic. lib. 11. Plutarchus in Ariſtide & Themistocele.

(l) Herodotus lib. 8. Plutarchus in Themistocele, Diodor. Sic. lib. 11.

the most advantageous place for them to fight the numerous fleet of the Enemy in, that they could chuse. For the *Persians* by reason of the narrowness of that Sea not being able to extend their front in it beyond that of the *Greeks* could there have no advantage from their numbers, but altho' their fleet was four times as great must in that place fight upon equal Terms, which *Themistocles* the General of the *Athenians* having wisely observed did by his prudence and dexterity bring it to pass, that there it came to a Battle between them, wherein the *Grecians* by the advantage of the place gained the victory, and gave the Enemy such an overthrow, as wholly dashed all the aims and designs of this prodigious Expedition, which was one of the greatest both for expence and number of men, that was ever undertaken. For they having destroyed two hundred of their ships, besides those which they took, the rest got away to the *Asian Coast*, and having set in at *Cyma*, a City in *Æolia*, they there laid up for the winter, and never came again into *Greece*. And *Xerxes* being frightened with an apprehension, lest the Conquerors should sail to the *Hellespont*, and there obstruct his return, fled thither with all the haste and precipitation he could, and having left *Mardonius* with three hundred thousand men to carry on the war in *Greece* marched back with the rest to *Sardis*, and there took up his Quarters for the ensuing year. It is remarkable, that at his coming to the *Hellespont* finding the Bridge of boats, which he had left there, broken by Storms, he who had passed over that Sea, but a few months before, with such pomp and pride, was forced to repass it in a poor fisher-boat.

About the same time (m) his Confederates the *Carthaginians* met with as great, or rather a much greater defeat, in *Sicily*. For *Hamilcar*, their General, having drawn together his numerous Army, of

(m) Herodot. lib. 7. Diodor. Sic. lib. 11.

which

which I have already spoken, and shipped them on board the vast fleet which he had prepared for their Transportation, sailed with them for *Sicily*, and having there landed them at *Panormus* a Port in that Island laid siege to *Himera*, a Maritim City in the Neighbourhood. While he lay there, for his better security he caused two large Camps to be fortified, in the one of which he lodged his land Army, and into the other he drew up his ships, placing there all his Marines for their defence. At that time *Gelo* was King of *Sicily*, a Prince of great wisdom, conduct, and valour. As soon as he had an account of this Invasion, he drew together an Army of fifty thousand foot, and five thousand Horse, and marched immediately against the Enemy for the defence of the Country. On his arrival at *Himera* he intercepted a Courier carrying letters from the *Salinuntines*, Confederates of the *Carthaginians*, to *Hamilcar*, whereby he understood that the next morning *Hamilcar* was to celebrate a great Sacrifice to *Neptune* at the Camp of the Marines, and that he had appointed the *Salinuntine* Horse then to come thither to him. *Gelo* taking the advantage of this intelligence, the next morning at the time appointed sent thither a party of Horse of his own, who being received into the Camp for the *Salinuntines*, first slew *Hamilcar*, and then set the fleet on fire. As soon as this was done, *Gelo* having notice of it by a signal given him from the top of an adjacent Hill, where he had placed watchmen for this purpose, drew out his Army before the other Camp of the Enemy, and gave them battle. But the flame ascending from the Camp of the Marines soon telling the *Carthaginians* the fate of their fleet, and a Messenger at the same time bringing them an account of the death of their General, this so disheartened and confounded them, that having no longer any Courage to stand their ground they were soon put to the rout, and *Gelo* slew of them an hundred and fifty thousand on the field of battel, and took all the rest Prisoners,

Prisoners, which were as many more, and sold them all for slaves: so that all *Sicily* was filled with them. This defeat was so entire, that of all this prodigious Fleet and Army, the greatest that was ever set forth in those western parts for any expedition, it's remarked none returned save only a few, who escaped in a Cock-boat, to bring this dismal news to *Carthage*. (n) *Herodotus* tells us, that this battel was fought on the same day with that of *Salamis*, but (o) *Diodorus Siculus* says it was at the time when *Leonidas* was slain at *Thermopylae*, which seems to be the truer account of the two. For after this success of *Gelo* (p) the *Grecians* sent to him for his assistance against *Xerxes*, which they would not have done after the Battel of *Salamis*. For from thenceforth they thought themselves alone more than sufficient for the Enemy without needing any other force, than that of their own, to finish the war.

On *Xerxes's* departure out of *Greece* (q) *Mardonius* winter'd his Army in *Thessaly* and *Macedonia*, and early the next Spring marched with it into *Bœotia*. From hence he sent *Alexander* King of *Macedonia* to *Athens*, with proposals of accommodation from the King. Thereby he offered them to rebuild at the King's charges whatsoever had been burnt or demolished in *Attica* the former year, to permit them to live according to their own Laws, to reinstate them in all their former possessions, and to add to them whatsoever other Lands they should desire. But the *Athenians* not being to be induced to desert the interest of *Greece* for any advantage whatsoever would hearken to none of these offers, whereon (r) *Mardonius* being enraged by the refusal marched with all his army into *Attica*, destroying every thing wherever he came, and entring *A-*

(n) Lib. 7. (o) Lib. 11. (p) *Herodotus* lib. 7.
 (q) *Herodotus* lib. 8. *Diodorus Siculus* lib. 11. *Plutarchus* in *Aristide* & *Themistocle*. *Justinus* lib. 2. cap. 14. (r) *Herodotus* lib. 9.

thens burnt and demolished whatsoever he there found standing after the former year's devastation. For the *Athenians* not being strong enough to resist such a Torrent had the second time withdrawn to *Salamis*, *Ægina*, and *Træzene*, and left the City empty. In the interim the joynt forces of all *Greece* being drawn together at the *Isthmus* of *Corinth*, *Mardonius* thought fit to march back again into *Bæotia*. For that being an open and level Country was much fitter for him to fight in, than *Attica*, which being rough, craggy, and full of Hills and Defiles, could scarce any where afford him room enough for to draw up his numerous army in, or a ground proper for his Cavalry to do any service in. On his return he encamped on the River *Æsopus*; thither the *Greeks* marched after him under the Command of *Pausanias* King of *Lacedæmon*, and *Aristides* General of the *Athenians*. They consisted of an hundred and twenty thousand men, and the *Persians* of three hundred and fifty thousand, saith (s) *Herodotus*, of five hundred thousand, saith (t) *Diodorus Siculus*, and with these forces near the City of *Platea* it came to a decisive battle between them, in which *Mardonius* was slain, and all the *Persian* Army cut in pieces. Only *Artabazus*, who was aware of the event, from the ill conduct which he had observed in *Mardonius*, made an early escape with forty thousand men, which he commanded, and by his speed out-marching the fame of the defeat got safe to *Byzantium*, and there passed over into *Asia*. Besides these not four thousand of all the rest escaped the carnage of that day, but were all slain and cut in pieces by the *Greeks*, and this quite delivered them from all farther invasions of that people. For from that time a *Persian* Army was never more seen on this side the *Hellepont*.

On the same day, that the *Greeks* fought this bat-

(s) Lib. 9.

(t) Lib. 11.

tel at *Platea*, (u) their Naval forces got as memorable a victory over the remainder of the *Persian Fleet* in *Asia*. For at the same time that their Land forces rendezvoused at the *Isthmus of Corinth*, their fleet having met together at *Ægina* under the command of *Leotychides*, the other King of the *Lacedæmonians*, and *Xantippus* the *Athenian*, there came thither to them Ambassadors from the *Ionians* to invite them into *Asia* to deliver the *Greek Cities* there from the Slavery of the *Barbarians*, whereon they sailed for *Delos* in their way thither, and while they lay there, other Ambassadors came to them from *Samos*, who having acquainted them that the *Persian Fleet* which wintered at *Cyma*, having sailed thence were then at *Samos*, and might there be easily vanquished and destroyed by them, earnestly solicited them to come thither and fall upon them. Whereon they accordingly set sail forthwith for *Samos*. But the *Persians* hearing of their approach retired to *Mycale* a Promontory on the continent of *Asia*, where their Land-Army lay, consisting of an hundred thousand men, (which were the remainder of those which *Xerxes* had brought back out of *Greece* the former year) and there drew up their ships upon the the Land, and fortified them with a strong rampart drawn round them. But the *Greeks* following them thither, by the assistance of the *Ionians*, who revolted to them, vanquished their Army at Land, took their Rampart, and burnt all their ships. And here ended all the great designs of *Xerxes* in a most miserable disappointment, there being after these two battels scarce any of all that prodigious Army, with which the year before he marched so proudly over the *Hellespont*, now left, whom either the Famine, the Pestilence, or the Sword had not absolutely destroyed, excepting those whom *Artabazus* brought back out of *Greece*. And of these a great number died on their

(u) Herodotus, lib. 9. Diodor. Sic. lib. 11.

return into *Asia*, by their over glutting themselves with the plenty of that Country, after the hardships they had suffered on the other side of the *Hellepont*. A greater Fleet and Army was scarce ever set forth in the West for any Expedition, than that of *Hamilcar's* against *Sicily*, or ever was there a greater Army brought together any where, than that, wherewith *Xerxes* invaded *Greece*, yet all these numerous forces were baffled, defeated, and destroyed by those, who in number or power, reckoning all the Armies on both sides against each other, could scarce bear the name of an handful of men in comparison of them, and hereby a signal instance was given, that whatsoever the pride of man may design, or the power of man think to effect, it is still the Providence of God that governs the world, and turneth all the affairs thereof which way soever he pleaseth.

The Battel of *Platea* was fought in the morning, and that of *Mycale* in the afternoon of the same day, and yet (w) it is commonly said by the *Greek* writers, that they had an account of the victory of *Platea* at *Mycale*, before they begun the Battel there, though the whole *Ægean* Sea, which was several days sailing, lay between. But *Diodorus Siculus* clears this matter. For (x) he tells us that *Leotychides* finding the forces, that followed him, to be in great pain for the *Greeks* at *Platea*, lest they should be overpowered, and vanquished by the numerous army of *Mardonius*, the better to encourage and enhearten his men for the battel, just before he made the first onset, caused it to be given out through all the Army, that the *Persians* were defeated, though he then knew nothing of the matter. But what he then feigned hapning to be true, and also done the same day, this gave occasion for what is said of that quick intelligence, which was utterly impossible to have come

(w) *Diodorus Siculus* lib. 11. *Herodot.* lib. 9. *Justin.* lib. 2. c. 14.

(x) *Lib.* 11.

in so short a time from so far distant a place by any human means. And there is no reason to suppose a miracle in this case. And that which is said, (y) of the victory of *Paulus Æmilius* over the *Macedonians* being known at *Rome* on the same day on which it was got, at a greater distance than *Platæa* was from *Mycale*, no doubt was from the same cause. That hapned to be true, which was only feigned when first reported, and afterwards when it was found to be true, and done on the same day, on which the *Romans* first had the report, it was made a miracle of, as if there had been some supernatural power that brought the intelligence.

Xerxes on his having received these two great defeats at *Platæa* and *Mycale* (z) left *Sardis* almost with the same precipitation, as he did *Athens* after the bat-tel of *Salamis*, making all the haste he could towards *Persia*, that thereby he might get as far as he could out of the reach of the conquering Enemies. However he omitted not before he left those parts to give (a) order for the burning and demolishing of all the Temples in the *Grecian* Cities in *Asia*, which was accordingly executed upon all of them, excepting only that of *Diana* at *Ephesus*, which alone escaped this general devastation. And this he did not out of any particular displeasure to the *Asiatic Greeks*. For he did the same, wherever else he came, destroying all Idolatrous Temples that came in his way, throughout this whole Expedition. The true cause of this was his zeal for the *Magian* Religion, in which he had been thoroughly instructed, and made a zealous proselyte to it by *Zoroastres*. For that Sect expressing (b) a great detestation against worshipping of

(y) Plutarchus in Paulo Æmilio. Livius lib. 41. (z) Herodor. lib. 9. Diodor. Sic. lib. 11. (a) Strabo, lib. 14. p. 634. Cicero de Legibus, lib. 2. Hieronymus in Esaia, cap. 37. Æschylus in Persis. Herodotus lib. 8. (b) Clemens Alexandrinus in Protreptico, Laertius in Proœmio, Pocockii Specimen Hist. Arab. p. 148, 149.

God by Images, were for destroying all Idolatrous Temples, wherever they came. And to keep *Xerxes* firm to their party, not only several of the chief Doctors of the *Magians*, but also (c) *Oftanes* himself, (d) who was then the *Archimagus*, or great Patriarch of the whole Sect, accompanied him as his Chaplains through this whole Expedition. And by their instigation (e) *Tully* tells us it was, that all these Temples were destroyed. This *Oftanes* is said to have been (f) Grandfather to *Zoroastres*, but it is most likely, that he was his Grandson, and that it was by mistake, that it hath been said otherwise. For *Zoroastres* it's certain was (g) a very old man at his death. The name of *Oftanes* was very famous among the *Greeks*. For (h) from him, they say, they first had the *Magian* Philosophy, he having communicated it unto them, while he followed *Xerxes* in this war, and therefore from him they sometimes call the whole Sect (i) *Oftaneans*, instead of *Magians*, as if he had been the chief founder of it.

One of the Temples, which by *Xerxes*'s order were thus destroyed, was (k) that of *Apollo Didumæan* near *Miletus*, from whence he took an immense Treasure. This was discovered to the *Persians* by the *Branchidae* a family of the *Milesians*, that had the keeping of the Temple, who thereon finding themselves by reason of this Treachery and Sacrilege to be become very odious to their Country-men, durst not on *Xerxes*'s going away stay behind, for fear of their wrath, but followed after him into *Persia*, and were there planted by him in a small Territory, which he gave them on the River *Oxus* in the Province of *Bactria*, where *Alexander* on his making himself Master of that

(c) Plin. lib. 30. c. 1, 2.
in vocē Μάγιστ.

(d) Laertius in Proëmio. Suidas
(e) De Legibus lib. 2.

(f) Religio veterum Persarum, c. 24.

(g) Religio veterum Persarum, ibid.

(h) Plin. lib. 30. c. 1, & 2.

(i) Suidas in 'Οσάννοι.

(k) Strabo lib. 14.

Country finding their posterity still remaining (l) caused them all to be put to the Sword, thereby cruelly and unreasonably revenging on the Innocent Descendants, the crime committed by their Ancestors many ages before.

Xerxes on his return towards *Susa* passing thorough *Babylon* (m) made there the same devastation of their Temples, as he had in *Greece*, and the *Lesser Asia*, and as it may be supposed on the same principle, that is his zeal for the *Magian* Religion, and his aversion to that of the *Sabians*, who worshipped God by Images, (n) of which the *Magians* had the utmost detestation. For the *Babylonians* were all *Sabians*, and indeed were the first founders of the Sect. For they first brought in the worship of the Planets, and afterwards that of Images, and from thence propagated it to all the other Nations, where it obtained, as hath been already shewn. And for this reason the *Magians* having them in abhorrence above all other *Sabians* prevailed with *Xerxes* out of an especial hatred to them to take *Babylon* in his way to *Susa*, of purpose to destroy all the Temples they had there; altho' perchance to recruit himself with the Spoils of these Temples, after the vast expences which he had been at in his *Grecian* war, might be the most forcible motive that wrought him into this Resolution. For the wealth of their Temples was vast and excessive, as having been the collection of a great number of ages. I have already computed how many Millions of our Money the Treasures of the Temple of *Belus* only amounted to according to the account given us of them by *Diodorus Siculus*, and if those, which he found in the other Idol Temples in that

(l) Strabo lib. 11. p. 518. Q. Curtius lib. 7. cap. 5. (m) Arrianus Expeditionis Alexandri, lib. 7. Strabo lib. 16. Herodotus lib. 1. Diodorus Siculus lib. 2. (n) Pocockii Specimen Historiæ Arabicæ, p. 148, 149.

City, were as great, as no doubt they were, they must more than repay him all that he spent in the *Grecian* war. And without some such recruit it is scarce possible to imagin, how he could have supported himself at home after so great a miscarriage and loss. And yet we find, that after his return he was supported through all his Empire, in the same manner as before, without suffering any great damage either in his authority, or power therein, after this so great and so extraordinary a disaster, whereas it usually happens, that Princes are ruined at home, as well as abroad, by such misfortunes.

By the pillaging and destroying of all these Heathen Temples at *Babylon* was fully compleated, what the Prophets *Isaiah* and *Jeremiah* prophesied hereof many years before. (o) *All the Graven Images of her Gods hath he broken unto the ground.* (p) *I will punish Bel in Babylon. I will bring forth out of his mouth that which he hath swallowed.* (q) *And I will do judgment upon all the graven Images of Babylon.* (r) *Bel is confounded, Merodach is broken in pieces, her Idols are confounded, her Images are broken in pieces.* For when *Xerxes* destroyed all these Temples in *Babylon*, he took from them all their Treasures, which they had been for many ages a swallowing; and pulling down all the Images, that were in them, broke them all to pieces, and converted the Gold and Silver, of which they were made, to all those common uses, for which he had occasion of them.

After the battle of *Mycale* (s) the *Grecian* Fleet sailed to the *Hellespont* to seise the Bridges, which *Xerxes* had laid over those Streights, supposing that they had been still whole. But on their coming thither, finding that they had been broken by Storms, *Leotychides* with the *Peloponensians* sailed home, but *Xan-*

(o) *Isaiah* xxi. 9.
47, 52.

(p) *Jeremiah* li. 44.
(r) *Jeremiah* l. 2.

(q) *Jeremiah* li.
(s) *Herodotus* lib. 9.

tippus with the *Athenians*, and Allies of *Ionia* still staying there made themselves Masters of *Sestus*, and the *Thracian Chersonesus*, where they took much spoil, and a great number of Prisoners, and then on the approach of winter returned to their respective Cities. *Xantippus* finding all the materials of *Xerxes's* Bridge at *Cardia*, where the *Persians* had caused them to be brought before his arrival in those parts, he carried them with him to *Athens*, and there laid them up to be a memorial of that total overthrow, which they gave their Enemy in this War, by the many Victories which they had obtained over them. From this time all the *Ionian* Cities in *Asia* revolted from the *Persians*, and entering into Confederacy with the *Grecians* by their help maintained their liberty for the most part ever after during the continuance of that Empire.

The *Greeks* having resettled their affairs at home, after the great ruffle that was made in
Anno 477.
Xerxes 9. them by the late Invasion of the *Persians*,
 (t) resolved farther to prosecute the war against them for the driving of them out of all the Cities abroad, that were of the *Grecian* Original. For which purpose they equipped a strong Fleet, of which *Pausanias* King of the *Lacedæmonians*, and *Aristides* the *Athenian* having the command, they sailed with it to *Cyprus*, and there having freed a great many *Grecian* Cities from their *Persian* Garrisons restored them again to their own Liberty.

About this time *Xerxes* at *Susa* (u) was acting a very cruel and barbarous Tragedy in the House of *Masistes* his Brother, which had its rise from an incestuous love first begun at *Sardis*. For *Xerxes* after his return thither from his flight out of *Greece* fell in love with *Masistes's* wife, who was then in that City, but she being a very virtuous woman, and very lov-

(t) Diodorus Sic. lib. 11. Plutarchus in Aristide.
 dotus lib. 9.

(u) Hero-

ing and faithful to her Husband, could on no solicitations be prevailed with to defile his bed. But *Xerxes* thinking to win her at last, heaped all manner of favours and obligations upon her to engage her to yield to him, and particularly he married a daughter, which she had, named *Artaynta*, to *Darius* his eldest son, whom he intended for his Successor in the Throne, and on his return to *Susa* caused the marriage to be consummated, which being the greatest favour he could bestow upon the mother, he expected it would engage her to a Compliance with his desires. But finding the Lady's virtue to be still impregnable against all his attempts, he at length turned the amour from the mother to the daughter, and fell in love with *Artaynta*, where he soon found a ready compliance to all he desired. While this was a doing, *Hamestris*, *Xerxes's* Queen, having wrought a very rich and curious mantle presented it to the King, who being very much pleased with it wore it when he made his next visit to his Mistress, and on his having enjoyed his lust on her, to express the Satisfaction he had therein, he bad her ask what she would of him for her reward, promising her with an Oath, that whatsoever it should be, he would give it unto her. Hereon she asked of him the Mantle, which he had then on him. *Xerxes* being aware of the mischief which might follow from his giving of it unto her, did all that he could to divert her from this request, offering her whatever else was in his Power to redeem it from her. But nothing else being able to content the Lady, and his Promise and the Oath being urged for the grant, he was forced to give it unto her; and she, out of the vanity and pride of her mind, as soon as she had it, put it on, and as by way of Trophy wore it publickly; whereby *Hamestris* being thoroughly confirmed in what she was afore only jealous of, became enraged to the utmost degree; but instead of turning her wrath against the daughter, who only was faulty in

this matter, resolved to be revenged on the Mother, as if all this intrigue had been of her contrivance, who was wholly innocent of it. And therefore waiting the great Festival, that used annually to be celebrated on the King's Birth-day, which was then approaching, whereon it was the custom for the King to grant her whatsoever she should then desire, she asked of him the wife of *Masistes* to be given unto her. The King perceiving the Malice of the Woman, and what she intended, abhorred it to the utmost both for the sake of his Brother, and also for what he knew of the innocency of the Lady, as to that for which *Hamestris* was exasperated against her, and therefore at first withstood her in this request all that he could. But her importunity not being to be diverted, nor what was said for the custom to be gain said, he was forced to yield to her. Whereon the Lady being seiz'd by the King's Guards, and delivered to her, she caused her Breasts, her Tongue, Nose, Ears, and Lips, to be cut off and thrown to the Dogs before her face, and then sent her home again thus mangled to her Husband's House. In the interim *Xerxes*, to mollify the matter as much as he could, sent for *Masistes*, and told him, that it was his desire, that he must part with his wife, and that instead of her he would give him one of his daughters in marriage. But *Masistes* having an entire affection for his wife could not be induced to consent hereto, whereon *Xerxes* told him in an angry manner, that since he refused to accept of his daughter, when offered to him, he should neither have her, nor his wife neither, and so dismissed him in displeasure. Whereon *Masistes* suspecting some mischief was done him made haste home to see how matters there stood, where finding his Wife in that mangled condition, as hath been mentioned, and being thereby exasperated to the utmost, as the case deserved, he immediately got together all his family, servants, and dependants, and made all the haste he could

could towards *Bactria*, the Province of which he was Governour, purposing as soon as he should arrive thither, to raise an army and make war upon the King to be revenged of him for this barbarous usage. But *Xerxes* hearing of his sudden retreat, and suspecting from thence what he intended, sent a party of Horse after him, who overtaking him on the Road, cut him off, with his wife and children and all that belonged to him. This *Masistes* was brother of *Xerxes* by *Atossa* the same Mother, as well as by the same Father, and was a person of great worth and honour, as well as of great fidelity to the King, and he had done him great Services in his *Grecian* War, having been one of his chief Generals, who had the leading of his Army in that Expedition, and he was personally engaged for him in the Battel of *Mycale*, and was in truth the chief honour of his House, and never gave him any just cause to be offended with him. However all this could not protect him from *Xerxes's* cruelty; which sufficiently shews, that where there is a vicious Prince with an arbitrary power in the government, there is nothing that can be sufficient to secure any man's safety under him.

And there is (w) another fact related of *Hamestris* equally cruel and impious, that is that she caused fourteen boys of the best Families in *Persia* to be buried alive, as a Sacrifice to the infernal Gods. And in the relating of this, as well as her other cruelties above-mentioned, I have been the more particular, because (x) several having been of opinion, by reason of the similitude that is between the names of *Hamestris* and *Esther*, that *Xerxes* was the *Abasuerus*, and *Hamestris* the *Esther* mentioned in Scripture, it may from hence appear, how impossible it is, that a woman of so vile and abominable a Character, as *Hamestris* was, could have ever been that Queen of *Persia*, who by the name of *Esther* is so renowned in ho-

(w) Herodotus lib. 7.

(x) Scaliger and his followers.

ly writ, and is there recorded, as the Instrument, by whom God was pleased in so signal a manner to deliver his people from that utter destruction, which was designed against them.

After the Death of *Masistes*, *Xerxes* appointed (y) *Hystaspes* his second son to be Governour of *Bactria* in his stead, which obliging him to be absent from Court, gave *Artaxerxes* his younger brother the opportunity of mounting the Throne before him on the death of *Xerxes*, as will be hereafter related.

The Grecian Fleet having effected at *Cyprus* what they went thither for (z) sail'd from thence
Anno 476. to the *Hellespont*, and took in *Byzantium*;
Xerxes 10. where several *Persians* of eminent note, and some of them of the Kindred of *Xerxes* being taken Prisoners, *Pausanias* treacherously released them all, pretending they had made their escape, and by some of them entered into a Treaty with *Xerxes* to betray *Greece* unto him, upon condition that he would give him one of his daughters in marriage; which being readily agreed to by *Xerxes*, *Pausanias* thenceforth took upon him to live after another rate than formerly, affecting the pomp and grandeur of the *Persians*, and carrying himself haughtily and tyrannically towards the Allies; whereon they being disgusted with his conduct, and not being able any longer to bear it, did put themselves under the *Athenians*, who thenceforth by this means obtained the chief command at Sea in all the Grecian affairs, and held it for many years after. The *Lacedæmonians* having received an account of these miscarriages of *Pausanias* deposed him from his command on the *Hellespont*, and recalling him home put him under publick Censure for them.

However (a) the next year he went again to the

(y) Diodorus Siculus lib. 11.

Siculus lib. 11. Plutarchus in Aristide.

(z) Thucydides lib. 1. Diodorus

(a) Thucydides lib. 1. Plutarchus in Aristide & Themistocle. Cornelius Nepos in Pausanias.

Hellefpont, although without the consent of the State or any Commission from them, failing thither in a private Ship, which he hired on pretence of fighting against the *Perfians* as a voluntier in that war; but in reality to carry on his treasonable Designs with them; *Artabazus* being appointed Governour on the *Propontis* of purpose to be there at hand to treat with him. But while he was at *Byzantium* his behaviour was fuch, that the *Athenians* drove him thence; whereon he went to the Country of *Troas*, and there tarried some time the better to carry on his correspondence with *Artabazus*, of which there being some suspicions the *Lacedæmonians* summoned him home by a publick Officer, and on his return put him in prison; but no evidence appearing of this thing in his Tryal, he was again discharged. But some time after the whole of it being brought to light, and discovered by one, whom he had made use of to carry on the Correspondence, they put him to death for it.

Anno 475.
Xerxes 11.

Themistocles (b) by his wisdom and great application having much advanced the power and interest of the *Athenians*, hereby drew on him the bitter enmity of the *Lacedæmonians*.

Anno 472.
Xerxes 14.

For they seeing their honour eclipsed, and that authority whereby they had hitherto born the chief sway among the *Greeks*, now rival'd and diminish'd by the growing up of this flourishing State, could not with patience bear it, and therefore to gratify their revenge resolved on the ruin of him that had been the Author of it. In order whereto they caused him first to be accused at *Athens* of being a confederate with *Pausanias* in his Treason against *Greece*; but nothing being proved of what was laid to his Charge, he was there acquitted.

(b) Herodotus lib. 7. &c. Thucydides lib. 1. Plutarchus in Themistocle. Diodorus Siculus lib. 11.

But (c) the next year after *Themistocles* being banished *Athens*, they renewed their design against him. He was not banished for any crime, but by ostracisme, which was (d) a way among them whereby for the better securing of their Liberty they used to suppress those that were grown to too great a power and authority among them, by banishing them the City for a certain term of years. *Themistocles* being thus necessitated for a time to leave his Country settled at *Argos*, of which the *Lacedæmonians* taking the advantage prosecuted anew their charge against him before the General Council of all *Greece* then met at *Sparta*, and summoned him to appear before them to answer to it, accusing him there of Treason against the whole community of *Greece*. *Themistocles* seeing how bitterly the *Lacedæmonians* were set against him, and knowing that they could carry every thing as they pleased in that Assembly, durst not trust his cause with them, but fled first to *Corcyra*, and from thence to *Admetus* King of the *Molossians*, by whose assistance being convey'd to the Coasts of the *Ægean* Sea, he took shipping at *Pydna* in *Macedonia*, and from thence passed over to *Cyma* a City of *Æolia* in the lesser *Asia*. But *Xerxes* having put a price of two hundred Talents upon his head, (which amounted to thirty seven thousand five hundred pound of our money) several were there upon the hunt after him for the gain of so great a reward. For the avoiding of this danger he was forced there to lie hid for some time, till at length by the contrivance and assistance of his Friend and Host *Nicogenes*, the richest man of that Country, he was conveyed safe to *Susa* in one of those close Chariots, in which the *Persians* used to carry their women, they that had the conducting

(c) Thucydides lib. 1. Plutarchus in *Themistocle*. Diodor. Sic. lib. 11.

(d) Plutarchus in *Aristide*.

of him giving out, that they were carrying a young Greek Lady to the Court for one of the Nobility, by which means he got to the *Persian* Court without any danger; where being arrived he addressed himself to *Artabanus* the Captain of the Guards, to whose office it belonged to bring those to the audience of the King, that had any business with him; by him he was introduced into *Xerxes's* presence; and being there asked who he was, he told him he was *Themistocles* the *Athenian*; that though he had done him great hurt in his wars, yet he had in many things much served him, particularly in hindring the *Greeks* from pursuing him after the battle of *Salamis*, and obstructing his retreat over the *Hellepont*; that for these his services to him being driven out of his Country, he was now fled to him for refuge, hoping that he would have more regard to what he had done for his interest, than to what with the rest of his Countrymen he had in the wars acted against it. *Xerxes* then said nothing to him, though as soon as he was withdrawn he expressed a great deal of joy and satisfaction, that so considerable a person was come over to him, wishing that God would always put it into the minds of his enemies thus to drive their best men from them. But the next morning having assembled the chief of the *Persian* Nobility about him, and ordered him again to be brought into his presence, he received him with great Kindness, telling him in the first place, that he owed him two hundred Talents: For he having set that price upon his head, it was due to him, who had brought him his head, by thus rendering himself unto him, and accordingly commanded it to be paid him. And then ordered him to say, what he had concerning the affairs of *Greece* to impart unto him. But *Themistocles* being then no otherwise able to deliver himself, than by an Interpreter, begged leave, that he might be permitted first to learn the *Persian* language, hoping then that he might be in a Capacity to communicate to the King, what

what he had to impart to him, in a much more perfect manner, than he could then promise to do by the interpretation of another; which being granted to him, and he having after a year's time made himself thorough master of that Tongue, he was again called in to the King, to whom having communicated all that he thought proper, he grew very much into his favour, so that when *Mandana* his Sister, who had lost several of her Sons in the battel of *Salamis*, had prosecuted an accusation against *Themistocles* for their death, and was very importunate and clamorous to have him delivered up to her a sacrifice to her revenge, he not only caused him to be acquitted by the suffrages of all the Nobility then attending the Court, but conferred many royal bounties upon him. For he gave him a wife of a Noble *Persian* Family, with an House, Servants, and an Equipage in all things suitable hereto, and an annual Revenue sufficient to enable him in the best manner to support the same, and on all occasions much carested him, as long as he continued in his Court. And it is mentioned as one particular instance of his favour to him, that by his especial command he (e) was admitted to hear the Lectures and Discourses of the Magians, and was instructed by them in all the secrets of their Philosophy. But at length it being thought best for the King's interest, that he should reside in some of the maritim Towns near *Greece*, that he might be there ready at hand for such Services, as the King might have occasion of from him in those parts, he was sent to live at *Magnesia* on the River *Meander*, where he had not only all the Revenues of that City (which were fifty Talents a Year) but also those of *Myus* and *Lampsacus* allowed him for his maintenance, amounting all together to one hundred and fifty Talents a year, which was little less than thirty thousand pound of our Money. And here he lived

(e) Plutarchus in *Themistocle*.

all the time of *Xerxes*, and several years after in the reign of *Artaxerxes* his son, in a very plentiful and splendid manner, as well he might on so large a revenue, till at length he ended his days in that City in the manner as shall be hereafter related.

But according to (f) *Thucydides* *Xerxes* was dead, and *Artaxerxes* had newly succeeded in the Throne, when *Themistocles* fled out of Greece to the Persian Court; and therefore he tells us that it was *Artaxerxes Longimanus*, and not *Xerxes*, by whom *Themistocles* was received with so much favour; and *Thucydides* being an Historian of great credit, and having wrote this not many years after the death of *Artaxerxes*, (g) the Lord Primate *Usher*, moved by so great an authority follows him in this matter, and to make it accord with the other Transactions of those times takes nine years from the reign of *Xerxes*, and adds them (h) to the two following reigns, making *Xerxes* to end his reign nine years sooner, and *Artaxerxes* to begin his reign nine years sooner, than any other Author says. Hereby the learned Primate doth exceedingly help his Hypothesis of the Computation of the seventy weeks of *Daniel's* Prophecy, and that no doubt induced him to prefer the Authority of *Thucydides* before all others in this particular. For if we put the twentieth year of *Artaxerxes Longimanus* (from whence he reckons the beginning of these 70 weeks) nine years higher than others do, the middle of the last week will fall exactly in with the time when *Christ* was crucified. And therefore were the Authority of *Thucydides* sufficient to justify him in this matter, the Primate's Computation would appear much more plausible than now it doth. But (i)

(f) Lib. 1.
hæcæ Periodi 4241.

(g) In Annalibus veteris Testamenti sub anno Ju-

(h) i. e. to the reigns of *Artaxerxes* and his son *Xerxes*, whom the Primate makes to reign one year after him. (i) For these Authors say that *Xerxes* reigned 21 years, and *Artaxerxes* 41. But according to the Primate *Xerxes* reigned but 12 years and *Artaxerxes* 50.

the

the Canon of *Ptolemy*, *Diodorus Siculus*, *Plutarch*, *Africanus*, *Eusebius*, and all others, that write of these times, being against him herein, it is much more probable, that *Thucydides* was out in this particular. For although he be a very exact Historian in the affairs of *Greece*, of which he professedly writes, yet it is possible he might be mistaken in those of *Persia*, which he treats of only by the by.

In the interim the *Athenians* having set out a Fleet under the Command of *Cimon*, (k) the son of *Miltiades*, conquered *Eione* on the River *Strymon*, and other parts of *Thrace*, and then took in the Islands of *Scyrus*, and *Naxus*, which had revolted from them, and (l) while they were assaulting the last of these, *Themistocles* passed by them in his flight into *Asia*, and difficultly escaped falling into their hands.

The next year after (m) *Cimon* sailing from *Athens* with a Fleet of two hundred Sail, passed
Anno 470.
Xerxes 16. over to the Coasts of *Asia*, where having augmented it with an hundred Sail more from the Allies, he took in all the Maritim parts of *Caria* and *Lycia*, driving the *Persians* out of all the Cities they were possessed of in those parts; and then hearing, that they had a great fleet on the Coasts of *Pamphylia*, and were also drawing down thither as great an Army by Land for some Expedition, he hastned thither with two hundred and fifty of his best Ships in quest of them; and finding their fleet consisting of three hundred and fifty Sail at Anchor in the mouth of the River *Eurymedon*, and their Land army encamped on the shore by, he first assaulted their Fleet, which being soon put to the rout, and having no other way to flee, but up the River, were all taken every ship of them, and twenty thousand men in them, the rest having either escaped to Land or been slain in the fight. After this,

(k) *Diodorus Sic. lib. 11.* *Plutarchus in Cimone.* (l) *Plutarchus in Themistocle.* (m) *Diodorus & Plutarchus ibid. Thucydides lib. 1.*

while

while his Forces were thus flushed with success, he put them ashore and fell upon the Land Army, and overthrew them also with a great slaughter; whereby he got two great victories in the same day, of which one was equal to that of *Salamis*, and the other to that of *Platea*. And having gotten information that there were eighty more *Phœnician* Ships coming to join the *Persian* Fleet he surprised them in Harbour, before they had any notice of the late defeat, and destroyed every ship of them; and all the men on board were either drowned or slain in the fight. After which success *Cimon* returned home in great Triumph, and very much enriched and adorned *Athens* with the Spoils got in this Expedition.

The next year (n) *Cimon* sailed to the *Hellepont*, and falling on the *Persians* who had taken possession of the *Thracian Chersonesus* drove them out thence, and subjected their Country again to the *Athenians*, though in truth (it having been the Principality (o) of his father *Miltiades*) he had the best right to it himself. After this he subdued the *Thasians*, who had revolted from the *Athenians*, and then landing his army on the opposite shore of *Thrace* he seized all the Gold Mines on those Coasts, and brought under him all that Country as far as *Macedon*, and thereby opened a way for the Conquering of that Realm also, would he have pursued the opportunity. For (p) the omitting of which he was afterwards on his return brought to tryal for his life before the *Athenians*, as if he had been corrupted by the *Macedonians* to spare them, and hardly escaped being condemned for it.

Xerxes being at last daunted, and wholly discouraged by the continued series of so many losses and defeats, gave over all thoughts of any longer carrying

(n) Plutarchus in *Cimone*. (o) Herodot. lib. 6. (p) Plutarchus in *Cimone*.

on the *Grecian* War, and therefore from this time, (q) no more of his ships were seen in the *Ægean* Sea, or any of his forces on the Coasts adjoyning to it all the remainder of his reign.

After this *Xerxes* giving himself wholly up to luxury and ease, minded nothing but the gratifying of his pleasures and his lusts, whereby growing into contempt with the people, (r) *Artabanus*, the Captain of his Guards, and one who had been long in prime favour and authority with him, conspired against him, and having drawn *Mithridates* one of his Eunuchs, that was his Chamberlain, into the Plot, by his means got into his Bedchamber and there slew him, while he slept in his bed; and then going to *Artaxerxes* his third son acquainted him of the Murder, and accused *Darius* his elder Brother to be the Author of it, telling him that it was done to make his way to the Throne, and that it was his design to cut him off next to secure himself in it, and that therefore it behoved him to look to himself. All which *Artaxerxes* (as being then a very young man) rashly believing without any farther Examination to be true, and being irritated thereby in such a manner, as *Artabanus* intended, went immediately to his Brother's apartment, and there by the assistance of *Artabanus* and his guards slew him also. And this he did, as he thought, by way of just revenge for the death of his Father, and for the securing of his own safety, being imposed on and deceived by the craft of the Traitor, who excited him hereto. The next Heir was *Hystaspes* the second son of *Xerxes*, but he being absent in *Bactria*, of which Province he was Governor, *Artabanus* took *Artaxerxes*, as being next at hand, and put him on the Throne; but with design to let him sit on it no longer, than till he had formed a party strong e-

(q) Plutarchus in Cimone.
Justin. lib. 3. c. 1.

(r) Ctesias. Diodorus Sic. lib. 11.

nough to seize it for himself. He having been long in great Authority had made many Creatures, and he had also seven sons all grown up to be men of robust bodies, and advanced to great dignities in the Empire, and his confidence in these was that which put his Ambition on this design; but while he was hastening it to a conclusion, *Artaxerxes* having got a full discovery of the whole plot by the means of *Megabyzus*, who had married one of his sisters, was beforehand with him in a Counterplot, and cut him off before his Treason was fully ripened for Execution; whereby having secured himself in thorough possession of the Kingdom he held it forty one years.

He is said to have been (*t*) the handsomest person of the age in which he lived, and to have been a Prince (*u*) of a very mild and generous disposition; he is called by the Greek Historians Μακροχειρ or *Longimanus* (*i. e.* the Long-handed) (*w*) by reason of the more than ordinary length of his hands. For they were so long, than on his standing upright he could touch his knees with them. But in Scripture he hath the name of *Abasuerus* as well as that of *Artaxerxes*, and was the same who had *Esther* for his Queen. I acknowledge there are two very great men, whose opinion differ from me herein, Archbishop *Usher*, and *Joseph Scaliger*.

The former (*x*) holdeth that it was *Darius Hystaspis*, that was the King *Abasuerus*, who married *Esther*, and that *Atossa* was the *Vashti*, and *Artystona* the *Esther* of the Holy Scriptures. But all what is said of those persons by the Historians, that have written of them, is wholly inconsistent herewith. For *Herodotus* positively tells us that *Artystona* (*y*) was the daughter of *Cyrus*, and therefore she could not be *Esther*; and that (*z*) *Atossa* had four sons by

(*t*) Strabo lib. 15. p. 735.

(*u*) Plutarch. in Artaxerxe Mnemone.

(*w*) Plutarch & Strabo ibid.

(*x*) In Annalibus veteris Testamenti

sub anno J. P. 4193.

(*y*) Herodotus lib. 3. & lib. 7.

(*z*) Hero-

dot. lib. 7. sub initio.

Darius besides daughters, all born to him by her after he was King, and therefore she could not be that Queen *Vashti*, who was divorced from the King her Husband (a) in the third year of his reign, nor he that *Abasuerus*, that divorced her. Furthermore, *Atossa* is said to have had that predominant interest with *Darius* even to the time of his Death, that it was by her means, that in the last act of his life (b) he was influenced to settle the succession of his Crown on *Xerxes* her son, to the disinheriting of all his elder sons, who were born to him by a former Wife; whereas the *Abasuerus* of the Book of *Esther* had removed *Vashti* both from his Bed and from his presence by (c) an unalterable Decree, and therefore never could admit her again to either all his life after. That which chiefly induced the learned Arch-bishop to be of this opinion, was, that whereas it is said of *Abasuerus* (d) in the Book of *Esther*, that he laid a Tribute upon the Land, and upon the Isles, (e) the same is also said of *Darius Hystaspis* by *Herodotus*; and therefore he thought, that they were both the same person. But *Strabo*, who is an Author of as good if not better credit, attributeth this to (ee) *Longimanus*. It must be acknowledged that in the printed Copies which we now have of that Author, it is read *Darius Longimanus* in the place which I refer to. But the Title *Longimanus*, and the Description of the person after in that place added, can belong to none, but to the *Artaxerxes*, whom we now speak of; and therefore it is manifest, that there *Darius* is put instead of *Artaxerxes* by the corruption of the Text.

Scaliger's opinion is, (f) that *Xerxes* was the *Abasuerus*, and *Hamestris* his Queen the *Esther* of the Holy Scriptures. His main reason for it is, the similitude that is between the names of *Hamestris* and

(a) *Esther* i. 3.
(d) *Chap. x. 1.*
P. 735.

(b) *Herodot. lib. 7.*
(e) *Herodot. lib. 3.*

(f) *De Emendatione, lib. 6.*

(c) *Esther* i. 19.
(ee) *Strabo, lib. 15.*

Esther. But how much more the dissimilitude of their Characters proves the contrary hath been already shewn; and what will be hereafter said of her dealing with *Inarus* and the *Greeks* taken with him in *Egypt*, and her frequent Adulteries, will be a farther confirmation of it. Farthermore it appears from (g) *Herodotus*, that *Xerxes* had a son by *Hamestris*, that was marriageable in the seventh year of his reign, and therefore it is impossible she could be *Esther*. For *Esther* was not married to *Abasuerus* (h) till the seventh year of his reign, nor could possibly have been taken into his bed sooner than two years before. For according to the Sacred History (i) it was the 4th year of *Abasuerus*, when the choice of Virgins was made for him, and a (k) whole year being imployed in the purifications, whereby they were prepared for his bed, she could not be called thither till the 5th year of his reign; and therefore the sixth was the soonest, that she could have a son by him. Besides *Artaxerxes* the third son of *Hamestris* (l) being grown up to the state of a man at the death of his Father (which hapned in the 21st year of his reign) he must have been born before the sixth year of his reign. All which put together do sufficiently prove, how much soever the names *Esther* and *Hamestris* may be alike, the persons could not be the same.

But there being no such objections as to *Artaxerxes Longimanus*, it is most probable that he was the person. The ancientest and best evidences, that can be had of this matter, are from the *Greek* version of the Sacred Text called the *Septuagint*, the *Apocryphal* additions to the Book of *Esther*, and *Josephus*, and all these agree for *Artaxerxes Longimanus*. For *Josephus* (m) positively tells us it was he; and the *Septuagint* through the whole Book of *Esther*, wherever the *Hebrew* Text hath *Abasuerus*, translate *Ar-*

(g) Lib. 9.
p2.

(h) *Esther* ii. 16.
(l) *Diodor. Sic. lib. 11.*

(i) *Esther* ii.

(k) *Esther* ii.

(m) *Antiq. lib. 11. c. 6.*
taxerxes;

taxerxes; and the Apocryphal additions to that Book every where call the Husband of *Esther Artaxerxes*, who could be none other than *Artaxerxes Longimanus*. For there are several circumstances related of him both in the Canonical and Apocryphal *Esther*, which can by no means be applicable to the other *Artaxerxes* called *Mnemon*. And *Severus Sulpitius*, and many other writers as well of the Ancients as the Moderns come also into this opinion. And the extraordinary (n) Favour and Kindness, which *Artaxerxes Longimanus* shewed the *Jews*, beyond all the other Kings that reigned in *Persia*, first in sending *Ezra*, and after *Nehemiah* for the repairing of the broken affairs of that people in *Judah* and *Jerusalem*, and the restoring of them again to their ancient prosperity, is what can scarce be accounted for on any other reason, but that they had in his bosom such a powerful Advocate as *Esther* to solícite for them. But these and the other transactions of this King will be the subject of the next ensuing Book.

(n) There were two other Kings of *Persia*, that shewed Kindness to the *Jews*, *Cyrus* and *Darius Hystaspis*. Each of them granted a Decree in favour of the *Jews*, but *Artaxerxes* went beyond them both. For he granted two Decrees, by virtue of which both the Ecclesiastical and Political State of the *Jews* were thoroughly restored, and therefore where the Scripture names those Kings of *Persia*, by whose favour this restoration was made, he is named among them in the order as he reigned. For it is said (*Ezra* vi. 14.) that this was done by the commandment of *Cyrus*, *Darius*, and *Artaxerxes*, i. e. *Cyrus* the founder of the *Persian Empire*, *Darius Hystaspis*, and *Artaxerxes Longimanus*. For of these, and none other, is that Text undoubtedly to be understood; and no doubt, when the Church and State were restored, much was done for the restoration of the Temple also.

The End of the FIRST VOLUME.



I.
ok
ho
or
in
by
ul-
er
ne
a-
ws
at
er
of
-
is
-
l
e
e